

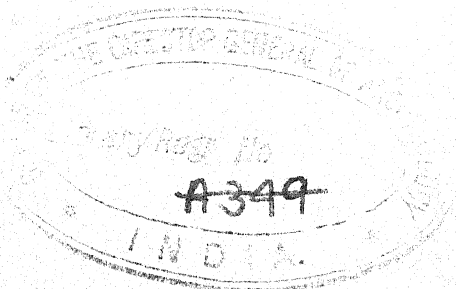
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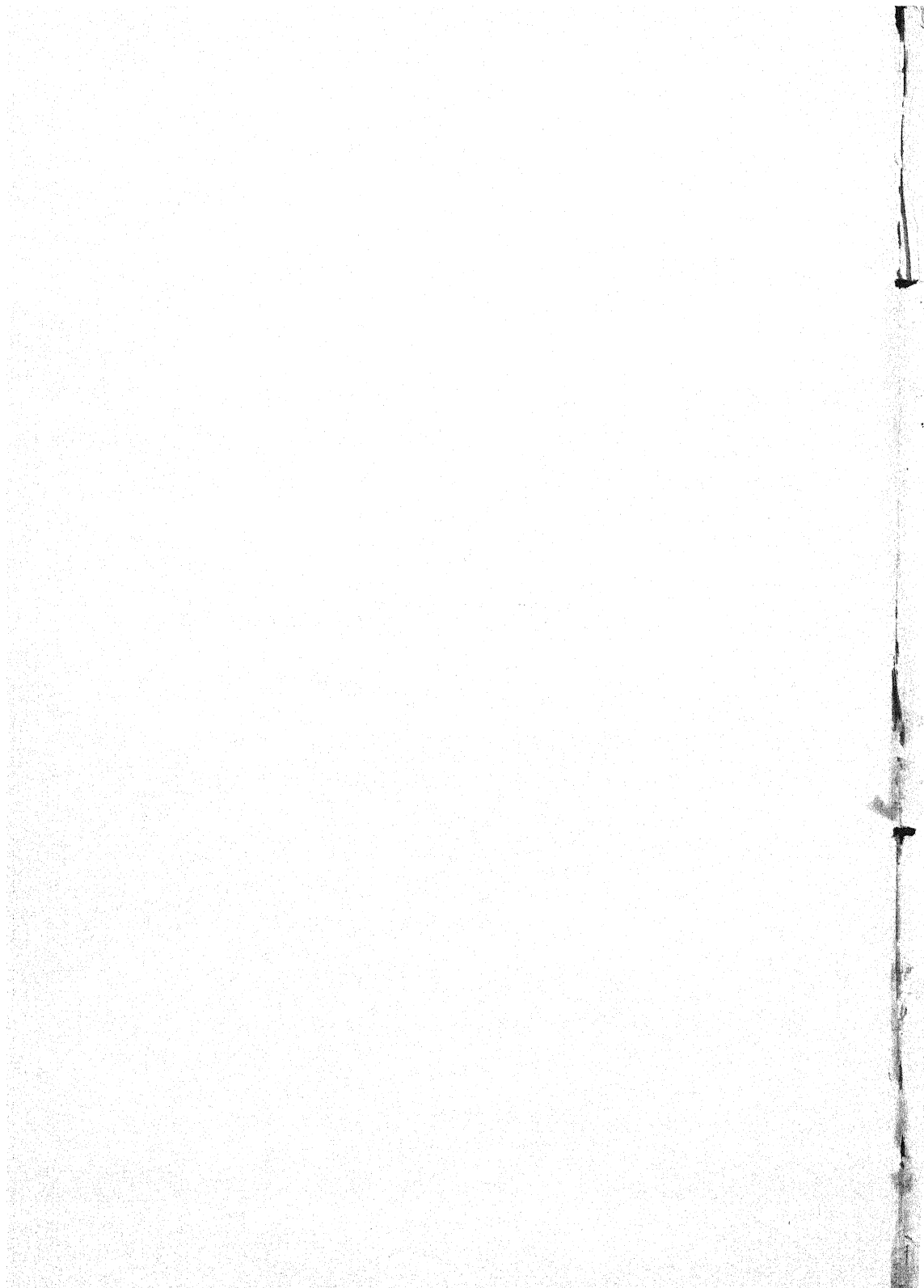
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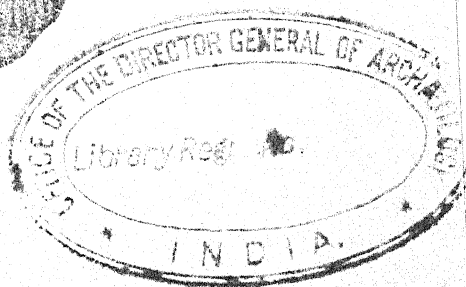
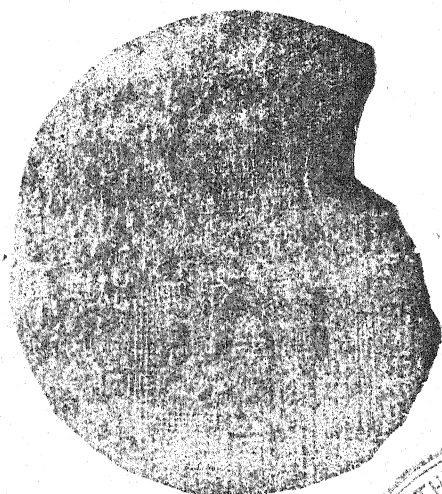
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[PART I.

LEADING ARTICLES

I.—Further Notes on the Baghela Dynasty of Rewah

By Dr. Hirananda Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., D. Litt., Govern-
ment Epigraphist for India.

The friendly criticism which Professor S. H. Hodivāla sent to me on my memoir entitled **Introductory.** 'The Baghela Dynasty of Rewah' and the discussion I had with him personally on certain points connected with the subject make it necessary for me to revise some of my statements made before and supplement my deductions with what can be learnt from some of the works of the Muhammadan historians of India. While doing it, I cannot help acknowledging my deep indebtedness to the learned Professor for his kindness in drawing my attention to all these points, but for which, I would, perhaps, never have noticed them.¹ Professor Hodivāla does not require any introduction. His memoir, named "Historical Studies in Mushal Numismatics", which is the result of his erudite, wide and

¹ Professor Hodivāla, while sending his valuable 'suggestions' or 'conjectures', considers it possible that in the light of further knowledge he might entertain hereafter opinions diverging considerably from them. This is generally applicable to all our views, for they are limited by what we know at present. However, I consider them to be reasonable and accept them. So the responsibility is divided if not shifted!

accurate knowledge of the Persian historians of India and his critical acumen evinced in the patient sifting of evidence, has already placed him in the foremost rank of scholars interested in Indian history and numismatics.

Without repeating what I have already said about the seals

Seals.

stamped on the manuscript, which forms the basis of the memoir, I would at once say that in my note on them I was rather influenced by the reading of the date in the earlier impression and by the legend on the Salimī coins. Professor Hodivalā suggests the possibility of the date being read as 965¹ and would assume that the ink was unevenly spread on the impression and it thereby made the figure of 6 look like 9.²

¹ It may be pointed out here that the equivalent of this date given on p. 4 of the memoir as 1569 is to be read as 1557.

² The following note which he has now sent me on this seal would justify him in being wary about his 'suggestions' or 'conjectures' and will show how necessary it is for a scholar to keep his mind open to correction :—

'I now think it *quite possible* that the figure is correct and that there is no real necessity of supposing that '6' is the blurred form of '9'. And the reason is this. 965 A. H. corresponds roughly to 1557 A. C. The question is when was Virabhadra born? You suppose that this must have been about 1540—but why not earlier? The *Kārya* says Humāyun called Virabhānu 'brother'. We are naturally tempted to infer that this must have been in consequence of the services rendered to him after his defeat. But this does not necessarily follow. The Emperor Humāyun may have called Virabhānu 'brother' simply because his father Bābur and Virabhānu's father Virasingh, also, had been great friends or brothers. So they were 'first cousins' *of a sort*, or brothers. I mean that in the present state of knowledge, all that we can say is, not that Virabhadra was born in 1540, but that that event took place *somewhere between* 1530—the date of Humāyun's accession, and 1539 or 1540—the date of the battles. Taking the middle year—1535 A. C.—he would have been 22 years old at that time. And it is very probable that he was sent by his father Rāmachandra—to represent himself at Akbar's court, to pay his respects vicariously to the Emperor after Hēmū's defeat at Pānīpat and the re-establishment of Mughal power. The old Hindu Rājas always endeavoured to avoid compliance, to evade prostrating themselves in the Imperial Court on various pretexts, old age, illness, distance, etc. If none of these excuses prevailed, they tried to get the Emperor to consent to their eldest sons acting as their deputies, e.g., Rāja Amar Sīnh of Udaypur sent his heir Karan, to Jahāngir's court. In the case of Rāmachandra, he appears to have

He further opines that the title of Sultān in the legend is only an honorific epithet, which does not necessarily imply that Salim or Jahāngīr assumed the royal title in defiance of his father. The title of Sultān need not be taken in the sense of Emperor, especially when we know that the Mughal Emperors used to address their sons and grandsons as Sultāns and the Princes Salīm, Murād, Dāniyāl, Khusrū and Khurram are repeatedly spoken of as Sultāns in the *Akbar-nāma* and elsewhere. Jahāngīr himself called Khurram and Parvīz 'Sultān' in the *Tāẓuk*.¹ In the light of all this and the fact that Mughal Amīrs and other persons of note attached themselves to and were admitted as the special servants of Princes with the permission or even at the initiative of the Emperor himself, it is quite reasonable to say that Bīrbhadar

succeeded in the beginning of Akbar's reign—(when the latter had not yet showed the stuff of which he was made, by subduing the Rājput princes and taking the Rājput fortresses)—in escaping the humiliation of making the 'kurnish' personally and in securing the Emperor's consent to his son's doing so and remaining at court, as a sort of hostage and security for the father's good behaviour. Subsequently, Rāmachandra had to surrender Kālīñjar and even send—although most reluctant to do so—Tānsēn to Akbar's court, because the Emperor sent peremptory orders requiring Tānsēn's presence. And later, Rāmachandra himself had to make homage in person and attend on the Emperor for a few days *volens volens*. For these reasons, I think it possible that *both seals are genuine*. The supposition that Virabhadra was born in 1540 or 1539—will not militate against the genuineness of the seal with any real force, because we know that the sons and heirs-apparent of Hindu Rājas were sent to the Imperial Court as the fathers' representatives even when *they were very young*—only twelve or fifteen years old—and it would not be difficult to cite instances. In other words, even if Virabhadra was born in about 1540, he would have been seventeen years old in A. H. 965—quite old enough to be sent to Akbar and enlisted as his father's deputy and to make the prostration in the Shāhīnshāh's Darbār. In that case, there would be nothing strange in his getting a seal made and calling himself a 'Badah-i-Shāh Akbar', to demonstrate and proclaim the loyalty of himself and his father. Subsequently, when Jahāngīr became old enough to have 'Bandahs' of his own, and he himself entered the 'Prince's service, he naturally had the old seal cancelled and had a new one prepared, similarly acknowledging that he was a 'Slave of the Prince'—'Sultān Salīm'.

¹ Tr. Beveridge, I. 19 and 16. Cf. Blochmann *J. R. A. S. B.* 1871, 116 and Prof. Hodivālā's *Studies in Mughal Numismatics* p. 294.

was an adherent of Jahāngīr and could well call himself *بندہ سلیم سلطان* without offending Akbar. This being the case, my remark to the effect that Bīrbhadar surreptitiously called Jahāngīr 'Sultān' in the seal with a view to pay his court to the rising as well as to the setting sun and provide for his own safety in either case may well be treated as cancelled. But we have to remember that the suggested reading of the date is problematical and that, if Jahāngīr actually issued coins, as was opined by Beveridge long ago, in the lifetime of his father, the surmise that he began to develop signs of weariness of waiting for the crown would not be an impossibility.

The manuscript, as has already been stated, was written in the Vikrama year 1648 (=1591 A.C.). **The age of the Virabhanudayakavyam.** The date or time when the work was composed has not been stated and is to be determined. If we are to follow Sir Alexander Cunningham, the great pioneer of Indian archaeology, as I did before, this date would be about 1540 A.C. But we have to remember that he was often misled by the traditions which he quoted in support of his view. This seems to have been the case with the theory regarding the year of accession of Rāmadeva or Rāmachandra to the throne. A closer examination of the data supplied by the *Kāya*, I now find, will enable us to ascertain it more precisely than was done before. That the book was composed *after the birth of Vīrabhadra* (or *Bīrbhadar*) and *in the lifetime of Vīrabhānu* (or *Bīrbhān*) his grandfather, as well as of Humāyun, is clear from the statements made in it. In the tenth canto (verse 13, it says that Rāmachandra gave shelter to one (*Sultān*) Muhammad Saīdili :—

सईदिलिस्तु शरणागतोभूत्स्वयं सुरत्राणमुहम्मदादिः

'Sultān Muhammad Saīdili himself came under his protection.' Now, the question is: Who was this person? Apparently, the name is not correctly given. The manuscript puts it as '*Sa Ī Dili* with (*the words*) *Suratrāṇa* (*i.e.* Sultān) Mahammad prefixed to it'. *Sa Ī Dili* has no meaning.

Professor Hodivalā suggests that the copyist made a mistake in putting it for **सुरादलि** i.e., Sūr Adali. If that is so, things become quite clear. Badāonī, he says, tells us that Sultān Muhammad Sūr Adali, popularly known as Adali, realised his inability to cope with Ibrāhīm Sūr, and fled on being defeated by the latter, from Gwalior to Bhaṭā, whence later he returned to Chunar.¹ This Adali was the brother-in-law and cousin as well as the successor of Islām Shāh Sūr,² the second son of Shēr Shāh. Erskine would support this statement.³ It is true that he has put Panna in place of Bhaṭā but that is only an oversight, as Blochmann and others have already pointed out. The incident tallies with the statement of the *Kāvya* fully and the identification seems to be fairly certain. Adali was routed by Ibrāhīm about 1555 A.C. So the book must have been composed about that year and not 1540, as I formerly supposed. Thus, it would necessarily follow that Virabhānu, the hero of the book, was alive in that year. This being the case, the Imperial Gazetteer would be nearer the truth in saying that Rāmachandra began to rule in 1555. Bābur's *Memoirs* show that Virasimha, the father of Virabhānu, was ruling in 1527, if not later. The exploits and achievements of Virabhānu, described in the book under examination, would require a fairly long time to accomplish. So I would now put 1555 or thereabouts as the probable date of his demise, and modify the date of the birth of Virbhadrā accordingly, i.e. to 1535 A.D.

To locate the places mentioned in the book we shall take

**Identification of
places mentioned
in the *Kāvya*.**

Gahorā first. According to the *Kāvya*, Rāpingadeva, the son and successor of Bhīma, the founder of the present house of Rewah, conquered Gahorā

which stood on the eastern bank of the Ganges—

रजि गहो रामनवा गहोराम्, दौपयन्, सौधपरं पराभि : ।

¹ Badāonī, Tr. Rankine, I. 542.

² Rankine's Badāonī, I. 408 and 485, trans.

³ *History of the Mughals under Bābur and Humāyun*, II. 194.

गङ्गादिनद्यास्तटपूर्वभागे गृहान् गङ्गोराव्यराजधान्याम् ।

भङ्ग्याद्भुतं कारयतिस्.....

(1. 11 and 54-59).

It soon developed into the capital town of the Baghelas, and each ruler who followed Rāṇingadeva, added his share towards its prosperity. It appears to have remained the chief town up to the time of Rāmachandra who was anointed as king here. About that time, it seems to have been superseded by Bāndhogārh. The fact that it is not mentioned in the State Gazetteer or in the accounts given by Sir Alexander Cunningham, should not be taken to indicate that it was possibly razed to the ground during the expedition of Asāf Khān in the 16th century. On the contrary, works like the *Āin-i-Akhbari*,¹ where it is several times mentioned as Bhatghorā (or Bhat-Khorā), would show that it continued to exist. The *Sarkār* of Bhatghorā is spoken of there² as having thirty-nine *mahals* and a revenue of seventy-two lakhs of *dāms*. The name appears to have survived down to much later times, as Elliot in his *Races of the North Western Provinces of India*³ says that Ghorā or Bhatghorā, subsequently known as Ahmadābād-Ghorā, was an old *Sarkār* which included Tirohān, Chibrāmau, Darsenda and Bara. Writing in 1844 he says that "Ghorā still exists under the name of Ghorā-khās on the border of Tirohān and Chibrāmau" and that in an ancient grant of Aurangzēb, dated 1025 A.H., in which Darsenda is mentioned, it is distinctly said to be included in Ahmadābād-Ghorā.⁴

¹ Blochmann Trans. I. 122 and 618. Vide also pp. 355, 367 and 406.

² Jarrett, Trans. II, 166.

³ Elliot, II. 164-5.

⁴ *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VI, p. 18¹, would identify it with Baghelkhand saying that Muhammadan historians referred to Baghelkhand as Ghorā or Bhatghorā. R. B. Pandit Janki Prasad says that there is a tradition current in Rewah which places Ghorā in the Banda district and that when the sacred thread ceremony of a Baghel boy takes place, he makes up his mind to go out and is pacified and consents to live in his house only when he is promised that the Ghorā Raj will be given to him.

The dialect of the Bagheli Hindi spoken in the Eastern part of the Banda district as far as the river Bagain is, evidently, called Gahorā after it.¹

Another important locality of which Professor Hodīvālā has proposed what seems to me to be the correct identification is **Alarka** or **Alarkka**, which he places at Arail. The *Kāvya* locates it on the banks of the Ganges and says that Virasimha entered into a friendly alliance with the Emperor of Delhi, (namely, Bābur), there. The accounts given in the *Humāyūn-nāma* written by the princess Gulbadan, Bābur's daughter and Humāyun's half-sister, as well as by Jauhar, if put together, would make it clear that Virabhānu (Pīrbahān) was the Rāja of Arail who helped Humāyun to cross the Ganges at that place. This Arail stands opposite to Allahābād and was the very locality which was plundered under the orders of Sikander Lodi in 897 A. H. as stated by Ni'amatulla. "Alarka" or "Alarkka" is, apparently, a sanskritized form of the name as is *Mudgala* of Mughal. The word Arail written in Persian script may be read as Arail or Aryal. Neither of these modes of spelling would account for the term "Alarkka" of the chronicle or fit in with the scansion of the metre, namely, Indravajrā, in which the stanza naming the town in question is couched—

देशस्यः सर्वस्य रराज तिष्ठन्,
गङ्गातटस्थे नगरे प्यलर्के ।

Professor Hodīvālā's ingenious conjecture is that the ordinary local name *Aril* or *Aral* was sanskritized into Aralaka, and then Aralaka was by the usual metathesis or mistake written as Alaraka or Alarkka. In his elaborate note on "Chourāsī", Elliot says that "Rāja Rām Baghel is said to have given 360 villages to the Brahmans of Arail".² Again, Badāoni says that in 977 A.H. Akbar sent a conciliatory letter to Rāja Rām Chand, and gave him the pargana of Arail

¹ *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VI., p. 149 and *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. V., p. 131. For specimens see nos. 32 and 33 of Vol VI. of the *Linguistic Survey of India*.

² *Supplementary Glossary* ed. Beames, II, 56.

(which is near to Jhosi and Piyag known as Alahabās) together with its dependencies as Jagūr.¹ Lastly, Elliot says that in the *Hadīqāt-i-Aqālim*, Tirohān is described as "dependant upon *Sarkār Arail* or *Tarhar*", under the Government of the Nawāb Vazīr of Oude.²

Arail is not shown on modern maps, but is mentioned by Elliot in his Glossary,³ where Jalālābād is given as its current designation. It lies opposite to Allahābād across the Jumnā,⁴ and must be distinguished from Argal which stands on the Rinde in Pargana Kora and is given as a variant⁵ reading in some manuscripts.

Bagisara is another place which can be located with some certainty. Professor Hodivalā thinks that it cannot be Buxar and suggests that it may be Bagesar or Baksar which lies in the Unāo district of the United Provinces and is situated 34 miles S.E. of Unāo. He has pointed out that Ni'amatulla would support the identification in telling us that 'Baksar' belonged to Rāi Tilok Chand in the time of Sultān Bahlōl. "At this time", that chronicler writes, "Rāi Tilok Chand, the Governor of the territory of Baksar, came to pay his respects to Sultān Bahlōl, and took his army across the river by a ford against the troops of Sultān Husain (of Jaunpūr), who being too weak to resist, fled to the Panna (*recte* Bhaṭā) country, the Rāja of which place came out to meet him and presented him with some laes of *tanḱas*, and 100 horses and elephants, after which he sent his own with him as far as Jaunpūr".⁶

Here Ni'amatulla clearly shows that the Rāja of Bhaṭā and Tilok Chand of Baiswāra were, in the time of Bahlōl Lodi, on opposite sides in the struggle that was going on between the Sultāns of Delhi and Jaunpur. Tilok Chand was a partisan of the Delhi Emperor, while the Bhaṭā Rāja sided with Husain

¹ Lowe's Trans., Vol. II., p. 124, *Bibl. Ind. Text*, p. 120.

² Elliot II, 166.

³ *Ibid.* I, p. 262.

⁴ Hamilton's *Hindustan*, I, 301, 374.

⁵ Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary*, I, 116.

⁶ Elliot and Dowson, v. 59.

Shāh of Jaunpur. This passage would further tell us that the Rājā of Bhaṭā at this time, *i.e.*, about 890 A.H. (or 1484 A.C.) must have been Bhaidachandra of the *Virabhānūdaya-Kāvya* who was an undoubted contemporary of Bahlōl as well as of his son Sikandar. This would corroborate the statement बगौति पूर्वः सर इत्युदीर्यो द शोयमासाद्य बभौ चिराय (I. 621) made in the chronicle that Bhaidachandra took possession of the tract styled 'Sara with Bak prefixed to it', *i.e.*, Baksar. Bhaidachandra during the struggle might have attempted to raid, or plundered, or even seized Baksar, which belonged to the opposite party.

Now an attempt might be made to identify some of the personages named in the chronicle. From what has been stated above, it would be clear that 'Saīdili' must be identical with Mubārīz Khān, who murdered his nephew, the infant son of Islām Shāh Sūr, and ascended the throne under the name of Muhammad Shāh Adali. He was called Adali or Adili, the 'Just', possibly ironically, for the title would be singularly inapplicable to a man who was a good-for-nothing sensualist.

Pūranamallā is another person who can now be identified with certainty. The *Kāvya* calls him a descendant of Hammīra Chauhān (of Ranathambore fame) and the father of Kalyāṇadevī who married Śālivāhana and gave birth to Vīrasimha, the ally of Bābur. He appears to be identical with Pūranamallā, son of Silhādi, the defender of Raisin. Musalmān historians of Shēr Shāh call him sometimes Bhayyā, but more often Pūrabiyā.¹ In support of this identification Professor Hodivālā quotes Tod,

¹ Elliot and Dowson, IV, 391. In the *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodi*, "Pūranamal is called the son of Rāi Silhādi Pūrbiyā, a Gehlot Rājput". (*Ibid*, 397 note). It is possible, however, that 'Pūrabiyā' merely means 'coming from the East', 'belonging to the East or Eastern side of the country or particular Provinces, as, if Silhādi was a 'Gehlot', he could not have been a descendant of Hammīra Chauhān. As a matter of fact, the term Pūrbiyā in the Punjab is applied to people coming from the east, *i.e.*, U. P. side, even in these days.

according to whom Pūrabiya is one of the 64 Śākhās¹ of the Chauhān Rājputs. So, the epithet Pūrabiya would fit in very well. According to the Musalmān writers Pūranmal was an old man at the time of the massacre of Rāisin, the historic town of Central India which now forms the headquarters of the Nizāmat-i-Mashraq or eastern district of the Bhopāl State and lies some 12 miles from Salāmatpur station on the Indian Midland section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. "In the sixteenth century Rāisin was the stronghold of Silhāri, a Gehlot Rājput. After his death the fort was held by Pūran Mal as guardian to Pratāp Singh, the infant grandson of Silhāri. In 1543 Pūran Mal incurred the enmity of Shēr Shāh, and the fort was attacked. After a prolonged and strenuous resistance, Pūran Mal surrendered on a promise of honourable treatment, but was promptly murdered and his family sent into slavery."²

Purushottama is still another person whom we can identify with certainty. The chronicle in its first canto informs us that Rājā Śalivahana, had, by his second queen Arthadevi, a son named Udayakarna, 'who, discarding the desirable wealth and the country given him by his sire went to the revered Iśa or Lord of the Universe, i.e., Jagannātha at Puri'. He came over to Purushottama, the Gajendra chief, who honoured him adequately and gave him his daughter in marriage whereupon he settled in Utkala, i.e., Orissa :—

तस्याथ देवो कुलपालिकासौत् पतिव्रतानामपि पावनीया ।

राज्ञो सतो साधुगुणैरथापद्वीरं ततः सोदयकर्णपुत्रम् ॥ ८३ ॥

यत्तातदत्तं धनदेशमिष्टमुदारचेतास्तृणवद्विहाय ।

आराध्यमाशानमगाजगत्याः गजेन्द्रनाथं पुरुषोत्तमञ्च ॥ ८५ ॥

तेनाच्च यित्वाऽर्पितराजलक्ष्मीः समस्तु तस्यौ जनितप्रतापः ।

पत्युर्गो जानां च विवाह्य पुत्रो तमुत्कलं देशमलञ्चकार ॥ ८६ ॥

This Purushottama was the son and successor of Kapilendra (1435-1469 A.C.) who contributed largely to the glory of

¹ *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān* (H. Millford), Vol. I., p. 115.

² *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI., p. 63.

³ च would indicate a pun, for पुरुषोत्तम means Vishṇu also.

Orissa by leading an expedition to Kāñchī, which, we are told, is represented in pictures on a wall of the audience-hall of the Jagannātha temple at Purī.¹

Now we may take up the interesting question regarding the trustworthiness of the story related in Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Report* about Akbar and his mother. Our *Kāvya* makes no mention of the episode nor of the succour which Vīrabhānu (or Bīrbhān) gave to Humāyun when he was reduced to helplessness after being routed by Shēr Shāh. Reference to the accounts supplied by Musalmān writers would show that the Rājā of Bhaṭā, namely, Bīrbhān, did render substantial assistance to Humāyun, who, perhaps on that account, treated him like a brother, as the chronicle tells us. If the histories or accounts given by Musalmān or other contemporary writers are to be trusted, the story must be pronounced fictitious and should be treated as such. Sir Alexander Cunningham writes :—

“ The people of Asni also have a strange story about Akbar. They say that, when Sher Shah defeated Humāyun, the latter fled to the west, leaving a Begam named Choli in Delhi, who was captured by the conqueror. Shortly afterwards Sher Shah being pleased with some verses of a bard named Narhar, told him to ask a boon. The bard, accordingly, asked that Choli Begam might be given to him, which the king granted. Narhar carried off Choli to Bāndhugarh in Rewa, where, soon after, she gave birth to Akbar. When twelve years had passed, the boy Akbar asked Bīrbhān, the Bāghel Rājā of Rewa, to let him have some soldiers, so that he might go up to Delhi and recover his kingdom from Sher Shah. The Raja gave the troops and Akbar advanced against Delhi, while Humāyun returned from Ghaznī. Sher Shah was then dead and Islām Shāh was defeated by Akbar, who thus recovered the kingdom of his father.²

¹ B. C. Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 213-14.

² A. S. R., Vol. XVII., pp. 100 ff.

' This story has found general acceptance amongst the people, in spite of the explicit statement of the Muhammadan historians that Sher Shah treated Humāyun's queen in the most chivalrous manner.' Thus Abbās Khān, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Sher Shāhi*, says¹—

" Masnad Ali Haibat Khān told me, Abbās Khān, the author of this book, that he was at Sher Khān's side, when the emperor Humāyun's queen, with other noble ladies and a crowd of women, came out from behind the *parda*. As soon as Sher Khān's eye fell upon them, he alighted off his horse, and showed them every respect, and consoled them."

The popular story, however, is likely to survive, as it has been related in a *Kabīṭ* by *Ajbes*, the Bhāt of the Raja of Rewa. Some, indeed, say that the verse finds favour owing to the wretched pun on the name of Akbar, to whom Raja Birbhān of Rewa is said to have been an *Akhe-bar*, or *Akshaya-bar*, the imperishable banian tree, which is the name of the famous tree of Prayāg. These are the verses :—

" Dilli kē jitek sardār, Mansabdār,
Rāja, Rao, Umrao, Sahe ko nipāt bhao,
Begam bichāri bahi kitāhu na pāi thāh,
Bāndhogarh, gāro gūr tako pachh pāt bhao,
Sher Shāh salil praleye ko baro *Ajbes*,
Būrat Humāyun kē mahā hi, utpāt bhao,
Balhīn bālāk, *Akabar*, bachāi me ko,
Birbhān bhupati, *Akebar* ko pāt bhao."

" In Delhi all the Sardārs and the Mansabdārs,
The Rajas, the Raos, and the Umraos, were distracted,
The Begam helpless found no place of refuge,
Till the stronghold of Bāndhogarh became her protector.
Then Sher Shāh's power prevailed, says *Ajbes*.
Though Humāyun escaped drowning, he was in great distress
And the boy *Akbar* was saved solely
Through Birbhān becoming his *Akhe-bar*."

¹ Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians of India*, Vol. IV., p. 375.

Akbar we know was born at Umarkōṭ in 1542¹ A. C. Humāyun, when driven from his kingdom in 1540, fled westwards. Failing to get assistance from any quarters, he was forced to roam about aimlessly in the waterless western deserts of India. While thus roaming in Sind, he was captivated by the charms of a young lady, daughter of Shaikh Alī Akbar Jāmi, and married her at Pāt towards the close of 1541 or beginning of 1542. This young lady gave birth to Akbar on 23rd November 1542. Akbar was first with his father in 1543 and then with his uncle Askarī who sent him to Kandahār in charge of the trusty Janhar and other attendants. At Kandahār he was well looked after by Sultān or Sultānam Bēgam, wife of Askarī. His mother fled with Humāyun towards Persia, but came back with him on his return to Kābul in 1545. For some time she was left in Kandahār. She again joined him at Kābul in 1546. Akbar was there even when Kamrān took possession of it. At the close of 1551 he was sent to Ghaznī, whence he was recalled after some six months. In 1554, when Islām or Salim Shāh died, Humāyun started to recover his lost crown and Akbar was with him. In 1555 he was appointed Governor of the Panjāb under the guardianship of Bairām Khān and was sent there, his father remaining at Delhi. In 1556 Humāyun died and Akbar was proclaimed Emperor of India, having been enthroned in a garden at Kalānaur in the Gurdāspur district. Thus there was no occasion left for him or his mother to come to Bāndhogarh and seek for help from Birbhān and make him their "*Akhe-bar*".

So the tale of the poet Ajbes becomes mere romance and my former opinion about it remains unaltered. I would, however, add that it may be admitted in so far as it is concerned with the help rendered by Birabhān to Humāyun as recorded by the half-sister and by the ewer-bearer of Humāyun himself. The omission in the chronicle might be due to the magnanimity or chivalry of Virbhānu owing to which the episodes that would cast a slur on the Imperial family or remind the Emperor of his

¹V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 13-20.

father's misfortunes had to be left out by the author. Mention of Adali's taking shelter, on the other hand, would go to please the Emperor for his having been the nephew of the foe of his house. So I am now led to believe that the omission was probably made deliberately. The point being interesting, the whole account as given by Princess Gulbadan may be reproduced here :— " Since such was God's will—they had halted without precaution, when Sher Khān came and fell upon them. The army was defeated. His Majesty's own blessed hand was wounded. Three days he remained in Chunār, and then came to Arail. When His Majesty reached the river's bank he stopped, bewildered as to the crossing he said : How to cross without boats." Then came the Rāja (Pirbahān) with five or six horsemen and led him to a ford. For four or five days his people were without food or drink. At last the Rāja started a bazar, so that the people of the army lived some days in comfort and repose. The horses were also rested. Many men who were on foot bought fresh mounts. In short the Rāja rendered fitting and dutiful service. Later on His Majesty gave him leave to go, and at the hour of midday prayer came himself, safely and comfortably to the bank of the Jumunā.¹ (They then reached Karra, Kalpi and Āgra.)"

In this interesting quotation, the name of the Rāja is put in brackets, for, as Professor Hodīvalā tells me, it does not occur in the original Persian. The name has been supplied by the translator but there can be no doubt that Gulbadan's Rāja of Arail is the Rāja Pirbahān of Jauhar, the faithful Aftābchi or ewer-bearer of Humāyun. The latter author gives the name of the Rāja but not of his kingdom, the former (Gulbadan), the name of the town, but not that of the ruler. Says Jauhar in his *Memoirs*, rendered by Stewart,² "In a little time the king received the intelligence that Mir Feryd Gur (?) was pursuing him from the eastward, and that Shāh Muhammad Afghān was encamped on his front and determined to prevent

¹ The Text and Translation published by Mrs. Beveridge, pp. 135-f.

² Stewart's Trans. of his *Memoirs of Humāyun*, pp. 18 ff.

his progress (to Āgra). At length Rāja Perbehān represented that if His Majesty would permit him, he would undertake with his own troops to stop Feryd Gur, in the meantime the king might continue his march and encounter his enemies". This passage has been cited by Erskine in his '*History of Bābur and Humāyūn*' with the addition that Perbehān was the Rāja of Arail. There can be little doubt that this بیربھان is to be read as بیربھان Birbhān, i.e., Virabhānu of Bhaṭṭa.¹

Thus, on the strength of these historians, the story, as far as Humāyūn's getting succour from Bīrbhān at the time of his flight before the Afghān opponent is concerned, can well be accepted as trustworthy, but not the portion of it which relates to Akbar or his mother. Shēr Shāh, we know, inflicted two crushing defeats on Humāyūn, one at Chausā on the Ganges in 1539 A.C. and the second in the following year, at Kanauj. Thus he had to flee as a homeless wanderer in 1540 A.C. leaving his throne to Shēr Shāh. Akbar was born during his painful wanderings in the waterless desert of Sind, as stated above. From Sind he moved to Kandahār and ultimately to Persia where he had to throw himself on the mercy of Shāh Tahmāsp, the ruler of that country. It is true that during these troublesome days the child Akbar had to undergo all sorts of dangers and was long separated from his father, but the Musalmān historians make no mention of his or his mother's captivity by Shēr Shāh or their taking shelter at Bāndhogarh under the protection of Bīrbhān at all, nor of his birth in the territory of Rewah.

Thus the chronicle under examination has omitted several events as I have shown before. One of them, viz., the story about Śalivāhana's daughter, would require further notice. Ferishta states, as I have pointed out, that Sikandar Lodī demanded of Śalivāhana the hand of his daughter and attacked his dominions on getting his refusal. I now find that a similar statement is to be met with in the account given in an earlier

¹ Erskine, II, p. 174.

work, the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*,¹ wherein it is recorded as a current story *قال*. It is repeated in the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*.² Thus it is clear that Ferishta did not invent it, but took it from earlier sources. Whether it was the refusal of the Bhaṭṭa chief to give his daughter in marriage or some other cause which induced the Lodī Sultān Sikandar to take punitive action against the latter, I cannot say for certain. I have become very sceptic in regard to the statements made by Musalmān chroniclers about such matters. For me it is not very necessary to suppose that the rulers of their faith whom they describe would have gone so far as to invite bloodshed on such petty excuses only. But I might leave this question alone, for the decision of it one way or the other would not affect the value of the *Vīrabhā-nūdayakāvyam* which will remain unquestioned even if it does not mention such events or incidents. The dates and names in the accounts of Musalmān writers tally with its account in the main. The author omitted to speak of such events possibly because he thought that if he mentioned one, he would have to narrate others whether they were honourable or otherwise for the dynasty of his hero and the hero himself.

The genealogy of the dynasty as given in my memoir is supported by other evidence. In the year 1925-26 the Rewah Durbār presented a fragmentary Nāgarī inscription from Sutna to the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum at Calcutta which has briefly been noticed in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department under the Epigraphical Résumé for that year. It gives the names of kings Śālivāhana, Kānhadadeva, and Nāharadeva who must have been the Baghela rulers of Rewah. Nāharadeva seems to be identical with Narahari-deva. The record is not available in its entirety, but there can be no doubt that it is a document of the Baghela dynasty.

¹ P. 163, Line 2. (Lakhnau Lithograph.)

² Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV., p. 463. Professor Hōdivālā tells me that the statement about Śālivāhana's daughter occurs also in Ni'matullā's *Tārīkh-i-ḥān Jahān Lodī* (Dorn's Trans. 1:59), though the passage is left out in Dowson's version.

What has been stated above would show that the historical matter in the *Virabhānūdayakāvya* is of very great importance and that its credibility or reliable character is enhanced and not diminished by reading and examining it in the light of the contemporary writings of the Musalmān chroniclers, if, of course, both are read without bias and the necessary allowance is made for time, place and the communal as well as religious prejudices of the authors. One would wish to have similar chronicles for the other sister-states also. If a search is made they are sure to come out. But will it be made ?

II.—Historical Contents of the Yuga- purana.

By Diwan Bahadur Professor K. H. Dhruva.

The Gargasamhitā is one of the earliest works of the older school of Indian astronomy. A section of it is highly valuable in these days of research, as it contains statements which throw rare light on a dark period of Indian history. It forms a part of the chapter called Yugapurāṇa (Traditions of ages) at the end of the Samhitā. The attention of research scholars had been early drawn to it by Doctor Kern in the introduction to the Brhatsamhitā edited by him in the Bibliotheca Indica series. But the manuscript that the learned scholar made use of was incomplete. So the well-known Indologist Mr. K. P. Jayaswal collated two other manuscripts, one belonging to the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the other to that of the Government Sanskrit College of Benares, and published the aforesaid important portion of the Yugapurāṇa with an English translation and critical notes in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, September, 1928. It has thus been made available to all. But the manuscripts consulted by Doctor Kern and Mr. Jayaswal are faulty to such an extent that the historical elements are screened from view by layers of incorrections. The printed text consists of 115 lines of which one is a mere repetition. Out of the remaining 114 lines twelve¹ only are free from corruption. All the rest are corrupt. Several words, nay lines and halves of stanzas, seem to have suffered from displacement. Names of persons and places have fared still worse through the ignorance of copyists and revisionists. So numerous and so confusing are the corruptions that one would not wonder, should anyone raise a question as to whether the Yugapurāṇa was composed in Sanskrit or in Prakrit or in a medley of the two. With a view to remove this deplorable state of things, I propose, by reconstructing the text

¹ See the reconstructed text lines 3, 11, 25, 40, 70, 75, 88, 99, 101, and 103 corresponding to the old text (appendix 1) lines 3, 11, 25, 50, 73, 74, 95, 29, 31, 33 and 115 respectively.

after a close study of the contents and the language as also of history and geography, to bring these historical elements of the section to light. The number of faulty readings is so large that the work of reconstruction would prove tedious and troublesome to nonspecialists, like the smelting of pieces of ore in a furnace and purifying them. Even those who take interest in the work, have to observe fully, study deeply and ponder over coolly at leisure, the points raised. I have accordingly kept at a distance the furnace of the metallurgist¹. To enable experts to form their own judgment after comparing pieces of ore with bars of purified metal. I give in an appendix² the text published in the Journal. Here below is the reconstructed text, amended and rearranged by me after due consideration of propriety and of the interrelation of parts.

The reconstructed text of the Yugapurāṇa :—

- १ ततो नरक्षये वृत्ते स्वर्याते वृषमण्डले । १, 1
 बसुदेवसुते कृष्णे देहान्तं च गते सति । २, 2
 भविष्यति कलिर्नाम चतुर्थं पश्चिमं युगम् । ३, 3
 ततः कलियुगस्यान्तः प्रथितो जनमेजयः । ४, 4
 पृथ्व्यां पारिचितः श्रीमानुत्पत्स्यति न संशयः । ५, 5
 सोऽपि राजा द्विजैः सार्धं विरोधमुपयास्यति । ६, 6
 दारविप्रकृतामर्षी कालस्य वशमागतः । ७, 7
- २ ततः कलियुगे राजा शिशुनागकुले बली । ८, 8
 उदयो नाम धर्मात्मा पृथिव्यां प्रथितो गुणैः । ९, 9
 गङ्गातीरे स राजर्षिर्दक्षिणे सुमहावरम् । १०, 10
 स्थापयेन्नगरं रम्यं पुष्पारामजनाकुलम् । ११, 11
 तत्तु पुष्पाद्वयं रम्यं पुरं पाटलिपुत्रकम् । १२, 12
 पञ्च वर्षसहस्राणि पञ्च वर्षशतानि च । १३, 13
 पञ्च संवत्सरान् मासान् पञ्चाहोरात्रपञ्चकम् । १४, 14
 पञ्च चैव मुहूर्तानि स्थास्यत्यत्र न संशयः । १५, 15

¹ See appendices 1, 2, 3 and 4.

² See appendix 1.

- ३ तस्मिन् पुष्पपुरे रम्ये जनारामशताकुले । १६, 16
 क्रतुकर्मक्षयाकृतः शालिशूको भविष्यति । १७, 17
 स राजाकर्मनिरतो दुष्टात्मा प्रियविग्रहः । १८, 18
 सौराष्ट्रमर्दयन् घोरं धर्मवादी ह्यधार्मिकः । १९, 19
 एवं जयैष्ठं भ्रातरं साधुं संप्रतिं प्रथयन् गणैः । २०, 20
 ख्यापयिष्यति मोहात्मा विजयं नाम धार्मिकम् । २१, 21
- ४ ततः शाकलमाक्रम्य पञ्चालान् माथुरांस्तथा । २२, 22
 यवना दुष्टविक्रान्ताः प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमाह्वयम् । २३, 23
 तैस्तु पुष्पपुरे प्राप्तो कार्दमे प्रथिते हिते । २४, 24
 आकुला विषयाः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः । २५, 25
 तत्रोद्दामं महायुद्धमुद्भविष्यति पश्चिमम् । २६, 26
 यवनाश्चापयास्यान्ति नष्टशेषास्तु पार्थिवाः । २७, 41
 ततः पाटलिपुत्रं तत् पुष्पारामसमाकुलम् । २८, 79
 भविष्यति सुसिद्धार्थं प्रस्तुतोत्सवसंमदम् । २९, 80
 पुरस्य दक्षिणे पाश्च वाहनी तत्र द्रव्यते । ३०, 81
 सहस्रैर्गजवाहानां वाहनानां च कपिता । ३१, 82
 मध्यदेशेषु यवना न ते स्यास्यन्ति दुर्मदाः । ३२, 42
 तेषामन्योन्यसंमर्दि युद्धं परमदारुणम् । ३३, 43
 आत्मचक्रोत्थितं घोरं भविष्यति न संशयः । ३४, 44
 ततो युद्धवशात्तेषां यवनानां परिक्षये । ३५, 45
 शाकले सप्त राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः । ३६, 46
 लोहिताद्रेः प्रतियोधैर्योधा युद्धपरिहृतैः । ३७, 47
 पृथ्वीं शूराः करिष्यन्ति रक्तघोरां सुदारुणाम् । ३८, 43
 ततस्तु मगधे कृत्स्ने गङ्गासन्ने सुदारुणम् । ३९, 49
 रक्तपातं महायुद्धं भविष्यति तु पश्चिमम् । ४०, 50
 पुष्यमित्रेण ते सर्वे राजानः कृतविग्रहाः । ४१, 51
 क्षयं यास्यन्ति युद्धेन तथैषामाश्रितो जनः । ४२, 52

- तदा मद्राक्ष्यते देशे पुण्यमिच प्रशासति । ४३ ।, 83
तस्मिन्नुत्पत्स्यते कन्या सुमहारूपशालिनी । ४४ ।, 84
तस्या मय्ये नृपो घोरेऽब्रह्मणः सह विग्रहे । ४५ ।, 85
तदा विधिवशाद् देहं विमोक्षति न संशयः । ४६ ।, 86
तस्मिन् युद्धे महाघोरे व्यतिक्रान्ते सुदारुणे । ४७ ।, 87
अग्निमित्रस्ततो राजा भविष्यति महाप्रभः । ४८ ।, 88
त्रिशद् वर्षाणि वै तस्य स्फीतं राज्यं भविष्यति । ४९ ।, 89
५ वसुमित्रात् ततो राज्ञः प्राप्ता राज्यमथौद्रकः । ५० ।, 90
भोमैः स शकसंघातैर् विग्रहं समुपेयति । ५१ ।, 91
ततः शकै रणे घोरे प्रवृत्ते स महाबलैः । ५२ ।, 92
नृपः पृषत्कपातेन मृत्युं समुपेयस्यति । ५३ ।, 93
ततः प्रणष्टचारित्रा अकर्मोपहृताः प्रजाः । ५४ ।, 106
हरिष्यन्ति शका घोरा बहुलास्ता इति श्रुतिः । ५५ ।, 107
चतुर्भागं तु शस्त्रेण नाशयिष्यन्ति प्राणिनाम् । ५६ ।, 108
शकाः शेषं हरिष्यन्ति चतुर्भागं स्वकं पुरम् । ५७ ।, 109
ततोऽम्लाटो धनुर्मूलो भविष्यति महाबलः । ५८ ।, 61
अरणो लोहिताक्षः स पुष्पनाम गमिष्यति । ५९ ।, 62
स वै तन्नगरं सर्वं शून्यमासादयिष्यति । ६० ।, 63
स तु म्लेच्छस्ततोऽम्लाटो रक्ताक्षो रक्तवस्त्रभृत् । ६१ ।, 65
जनमादाय विवशं पुरमुत्सादयिष्यति । ६२ ।, 66
तत्र वर्णास्तु चतुरः स नृपो नाशयिष्यति । ६३ ।, 67
वर्णाधोवस्थितान् सर्वान् कृत्वा पुर्यामवस्थितान् । ६४ ।, 68
अम्लाटो लोहिताक्षः स विपत्स्यति सबान्धवः । ६५ ।, 69
तत्र प्रजायां शिषायां तस्य राज्यपरिच्छये । ६६ ।, 110
भविष्यति ततो राजा गोपालो नाम नामतः । ६७ ।, 70
गोपालस्तु तदा राज्यं भुक्त्वा संवत्सरं नृपः । ६८ ।, 71
पुण्यकेनाभिसंयुज्य ततो निधनमेयति । ६९ ।, 72

- ततोऽधर्मपरो राजा पुष्पको नाम नामतः । ७० ।, 73
 सोऽपि संवत्सरं राज्यं भुक्त्वा निधनमेष्यति । ७१ ।, 74
 ततस्तु शर्विलो राजा ह्यरणः सुमहाबलः । ७२ ।, 75
 सोऽपि वर्षत्रयं भुक्त्वा पृथ्वीं निधनमेष्यति । ७३ ।, 76
 ततो वै कुयशाः कोऽप्यब्रह्मण्यो लोकविश्रुतः । ७४ ।, 77
 तस्यापि त्रीणि वर्षाणि राज्यं दुष्टं भविष्यति । ७५ ।, 78
 शकानां स ततो राजा ह्यर्थलुब्धो महाबलः । ७६ ।, 53
 दुष्टभावश्च यापश्च कलिङ्गान् समुपस्थितः । ७७ ।, 54
 कालिङ्गशतराज्यार्थी विनाशं वै गमिष्यति । ७८ ।, 55
 शककाण्डाः शरफलैर्विलुप्तङ्गाश्च संयति । ७९ ।, 56
 धनिष्ठास्तु हताः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः । ८० ।, 57
 ततः श्रातवरो राजा हृत्वा दण्डेन मेदिनीम् । ८१ ।, 104
 व्यतीते दशमे वर्षे मृत्युं समुपयास्यति । ८२ ।, 105
 अर्थलुब्धाः शकाः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः । ८३ ।, 64
 विनष्टे शकराज्ये तु शून्या पृथ्वी भविष्यति । ८४ ।, 58
 पुष्पनाम पुरं शून्यं वीभत्सं भविता ततः । ८५ ।, 59
 भविष्यति नृपः कश्चिन्नवः कश्चिद् भविष्यति । ८६ ।, 60
 ६ ततस्तस्मिन् गते काले महायुद्धसुदारणे । ८७ ।, 94
 शून्या वसुमती घोरा स्त्रीप्रधाना भविष्यति । ८८ ।, 95
 क्षपिं नार्यः करिष्यन्ति लाङ्गलोल्वणपाणयः । ८९ ।, ७6
 दुर्लभत्वान्मनुष्याणां क्षेत्रे स्युस्ता धनुर्धराः । ९० ।, 97
 प्रक्षीणाः पुरुषा लोके दिक्षु सर्वासु पर्वसु । ९१ ।, 98
 तदा संघातशो नार्यो भविष्यान्त न संशयः । ९२ ।, 99
 आश्चर्यमिति मंस्यन्ते दृष्ट्वाथो पुरुषं स्त्रियः । ९३ ।, 100
 विंगतिर्दश वा भार्या भविष्यन्ति नरस्य वै । ९४ ।, 101
 स्त्रियो व्यवहरिष्यन्ति ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च । ९५ ।, 102
 नष्टस्त्रास्था भविष्यन्ति गृहस्था रक्तवाक्त्रसः । ९६ ।, 103

अनायां आयधर्माश्च भविष्यन्ति नराधमाः । ६७ ।, 27
 ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्राश्चैव युगेऽन्तिमे । ६८ ।, 28
 समवेष्टाः समाचारा भविष्यन्ति न संशयः । ६९ ।, 29
 पाषण्डैः स्युःसमायुक्ता नरास्तस्मिन् युगेऽन्तिमे । १०० ।, 30
 क्षीनिमित्तमभिन्नाणि करिष्यन्ते न संशयः । १०१ ।, 31
 क्षीरवल्कलसंवीता जटामण्डलवारिणः । १०२ ।, 32
 भिक्षुका वृषला लोके भविष्यन्ति न संशयः । १०३ ।, 33
 यज्ञकार्येऽथ जप्ये च ह्यग्निके च दृढव्रताः । १०४ ।, 36
 शूद्राः कलियुगस्यान्तर्भविष्यन्ति न संशयः । १०५ ।, 37
 ओंकारप्रथमैर्मन्त्रैर्युगेऽग्नौ समुपस्थिति । १०६ ।, 35
 चेतोऽग्नीन् वृषला लोके होष्यन्ति ह्यक्षयुक्रियाः । १०७ ।, 34
 भीवादिनश्च शूद्राः स्युर्ब्राह्मणाश्चार्यवादिनः । १०८ ।, 38
 धर्ममीततमाबौद्धाः भीक्ष्यन्ते निर्भया जनाः । १०९ ।, 40
 तदा पापहते लोके दुर्भिक्षो रोमहर्षणः । ११० ।, 113
 भविष्यति युगे ह्यन्ये सर्वप्राणिविनाशनः । १११ ।, 114
 जनमारस्ततो घोरो भविष्यति न संशयः । ११२ ।, 115
 देवो द्वे च तदा वर्षे अनावृष्टिं करिष्यति । ११३ ।, 111
 प्रजा नाशं गमिष्यन्ति भूयो दुर्भिक्षपीडिताः । ११४ ।, 112

Translation.

The foregoing text differs from that of the manuscripts consulted for the Journal in many respects. Several words¹ besides are obscure and obsolete; and they stand in need of proper interpretation. So I give below a translation of it for comparison with that² in the Journal.

(1) After the terrible carnage of human beings (in the battle of Kurukṣetra) and the departure of crowned heads to

¹ See appendix 5.

² See the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, September 1928, pp. 409—424.

the other world, and after Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva, having left his mortal frame, there will set in the fourth, that is, the last age, called the Kali age. Then in that Kali age there will verily be borne the glorious king Janamejaya son of Parikṣit, famous all over the earth. And that king, indignant at the obscene and offensive conduct of Brāhmaṇa priests towards the queen (in the sacrificial ceremonial), impelled by Destiny, will fall out with them.

(2) Then in that Kali age there will be a powerful and pious king called Udaya, of the family of Śiśunāga, well known for his virtues in the whole world. The royal sage will found, on the southern bank of the Ganges, a beautiful city with very lofty fortification, teeming with people and studded all over with gardens. That beautiful city, called Pāṭaliputra or Puṣpāvaya, will verily continue to exist for a period of five thousand, five hundred and five years, five months, five days and five *muhūrtas* (that is four hours).

(3) In that beautiful city of Puṣpapura studded with hundreds of public parks, there will arise Śālīśuka intent on the abolition of sacrificial ritual. That wicked king, addicted to evil deeds, taking pleasure in (religious) squabbles, talking religion but (really) irreligious, steeped in delusion, will terribly persecute the people of Saurāṣṭra and proclaim the so-called *Religious Conquest*, contributing thereby to the glorification of the religiousness of his elder brother Samprati by sections of the Jain community.

(4) Thereafter Yavanas, brave but cruel will lead an attack on Pāṭaliputra, having previously subjugated the country with Śākala for its capital, the land of the Pañchālas, and the country with Mathurā for its capital. When they will reach Puṣpapura and construct an earthen causeway (across the moat), all countries will verily be seized with panic. Ultimately a great and terrible battle will be fought there (under the walls of Pāṭaliputra). The Yavana chiefs that will survive the butchery of the battle, will make good their escape. Thereat the city of Pāṭaliputra with countless gardens, having won a victory, will

be jubilant with holiday celebrations. To the south of the city there will be the (victorious) army, armed *cap-a-pie*, including thousands of war elephants, war horses and war-cars, to engage the sight. (Meanwhile) the haughty Yavanas will not stay even in the Madhyadeśa (which was subject to them). For a very fierce and terrible (civil) war will break out among their own people which will be eventually destructive.

Subsequent to the destruction of the Yavanas in that (civil) war there will succeed seven powerful princes in the country with Śākala for its capital. Their brave soldiers will cause the earth shockingly red and terrible to look at on account of the corpses of their opponents stain in battle and weltering in (lit. wet with) blood. Ultimately they will plunge the entire Magadha country adjacent to the Ganges in war, which will be very severe and bloody. Warring with Puṣyamitra all these kings and their followers (lit. dependants) will perish in battle.

After that, while Puṣyamitra will be reigning over the country called Madra, there will be (lit. will be born) in that land a (Yavana) damsel of transcendent beauty. To have (lit. for her) Puṣyamitra will wage war with the foes of Brahmanism and fall in battle by the ordinance of Destiny.

When that dreadful and deadly war will be over, Agnimitra of surpassing glory will ascend the throne. His prolonged reign will cover a period of thirty years.

(5) Now after King Vasumitra there will be king Odraka. He will be engaged in a war with powerful Śāka hordes. Fighting a bloody battle with the powerful Śākas, he will be pierced by an arrow. Then the people who had fallen from righteousness and betaken to the wrong faith, will, as foretold in puranic tradition, be carried away in large numbers (as slaves) by the dreadful Śākas. One-fourth of the population will be massacred by the Śākas and the other fourth part that will remain will be taken to their city.

Thereafter there will be mighty Amlāṭa whose (whole) wealth will be his bow. That red-eyed Śāka against whom no one will dare enter the lists, will march on Puṣpapura. He

will find the town deserted. Then that barbarian Amlāṭa of red eyes, wearing coloured garments, will put to the sword the helpless people (who will be staying) and depopulate the city. The Chief will massacre men of all the four castes. Having repopulated the city with persons below the four castes (that is Śakas), red-eyed Amlāṭa with his relations will be killed ; and one, Gopāla by name, will be the king over those that will outlive the revolution (lit. the termination of Amlāṭa's reign). Then king Gopāla, too, after one year's rule, will be engaged in a war with Puṣpaka and will be slain by him. Then the unholy one, Puṣpaka by name will be king. He, too, after one year's rule, will meet death (at the hand of Śarvīla) and then the unassailable one, Śarvīla will be king. Having ruled the earth for three years, he, too, will be killed ; and then will succeed a king of evil fame known to people as hostile to Brāhmanism. His reign also will last for three years. At the close (of the period) that powerful chief of the Śakas, who was wicked and unholy, will invade the country of the Kālīṅgas being actuated by greed. Attempting to seize the territories of the ruler of the Kālīṅgas, belonging to the Śāta (that is Śātavāhana) family, he will lose his life (in the campaign) ; and the dense hordes of detestable Śakas will, without fail, be destroyed by volleys of arrows. Then that king who was the flower of the Śāta family, will, with his forces, conquer the (Magadha) land and, at the end of the tenth year (after the conquest), will give up his ghost. The powerful Śakas will be (very) avaricious. The end of the Śāka rule will leave the land desolate ; and the beautiful city of Puṣpapura will present a dismal sight. After that I wish it will be (again) the capital of a new king in future.

(6) Past that epoch dreadful on account of great wars, the land will be desolate and frightful to look at ; and it will mainly contain woman population. Owing to the scarcity of males there will be females drawing the plough, tilling the soil, wielding bows and guarding fields. In the country all over at festivals the attendance of men will verily be thin, whereas women will be seen in crowds. 'What a wonder !', women will say to

themselves on seeing a man. There will be ten to twenty wives with but one husband. In towns and villages all business will be transacted by women. Strangers to peaceful joys, householders will put on coloured robes (that is will be ascetics).

And the lowest of the low, the non-Āryans, will be following the religious practices of the Āryans. In the concluding age Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras will wear the same costume and observe the same religious practices ; that is certain. In that last age orthodox people will mix with heretics. There will certainly spring hostilities for the sake of a woman. And verily there will be Śūdra Bhikṣus (*i.e.*, religious mendicants), wearing matted hair (on the head) and bark garments (on their person). In that Kali age Śūdras, observing with constancy self-disciplinary vows, will doubtlessly officiate at sacrifices in the matter of repeating sacred texts and of attending to the sacrificial fire. When the last age will prevail, Śūdras, practising lengthy ceremonial, will offer oblation to the three householder's fires with hymns ushered in with the mystic syllable *Om*. " Respected Sir " will be the address of a Śūdra and " Good Sir " of a Brāhmaṇa. Venerable persons that will have strayed very far from *dharma*, will fearlessly eat up (the earnings) of the laity.

Then in that last age there will be famine causing trepidation to people foredoomed by their sins, and resulting in the destruction of all living beings. And dreadful, no doubt, will be the havoc made. At that time god Indra will withhold rain for two years (consecutively) ; and most of the people will die of starvation.

Notes.

There are several points of Indian mythology and history in the translation just given which call for elucidatory notes to help us in understanding it rightly. These points can be observed clearly by the aid of this external light falling on them. The mysterious oracular language of the chapter becomes easy of interpretation by a close study of it. I accordingly subjoin requisite notes and comments.

The critically reconstructed and rearranged text of the Yugapurāṇa is composed of two sections, political and social. The first of them is divided into five sub-sections, whereas the second forms a continuous whole. The two sections together are thus made up of six sub-sections. The first of these foretells the incident relating to the disastrous feud between Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, of the epic age, and his Brāhmaṇa sacrificial priests. The king who had performed three hundred horse sacrifices, offered one more of the kind. In course of it the rite of immolation of the sacrificial horse was duly performed, after which the wife of the sacrificer lay by its side as prescribed in the ritual. Just at that instant the horse showed signs of life through the exercise of magical powers by Indra interested in thwarting the horse sacrifice. Incensed at the outrage to the modesty of the queen which he believed to be due to imperfect immolation, the king, falling foul of the sacrificial priests, banished them from his kingdom. This legend is given very briefly in the second canto of the book dealing with future history in the Harivaṃśa and is somewhat amplified in the fifth.¹ It is the very legend that is alluded to in our text here,

¹ For ready reference I give below the stanzas. अश्वमेधः क्रतुः श्रेष्ठः
क्षत्रियाणां परिश्रुतः । तेन भावेन तं यज्ञं वासवो धर्षयिष्यति ॥
यदि तच्छ्रूयते राजन् परिहर्तुं कथंचन । दैवं पुरुषकारेण मा
यजेथाश्च ते क्रतुम् ॥ न चापराधः शक्रस्य नोपाध्यायगणस्य ते ।
तव वा यजमानस्य कालोऽत्र दुरतिक्रमः ॥ ह. व. । ३ । २८-३० ।
.....कस्यचित्त्वथ कालस्य स राजा जनमेजयः । दीक्षितो
वाजिमेधेन विधिवद् भूरिदक्षिणः ॥ संज्ञतमश्वं तत्रास्य देवौ काश्या
वपुष्टमा । संविवेशोपगम्याथ विधिदृष्टेन धर्मणा ॥ तां तु सर्वा-
नवद्याङ्गी चकमे वासवस्तदा । संज्ञतमश्वमाविश्य तया
मिश्रीवभूव सः ॥ तस्मिन् विकारे जनिते विदित्वा तत्त्वतश्च तत् ।
असंज्ञतोऽयमश्वस्ते ध्वंसेत्यध्वर्युमब्रवीत् ॥ अध्यर्च्युर्ज्ञानसंपन्नस्त-
दिन्द्रस्य विचेष्टितम् । कथयामास राजर्षेः शशाप स पुरन्दरम् ॥

as appears from the reference to the offensive act involving an outrage to the modesty of the queen. Mr. Jayaswal thinks that the feud mentioned in the lines under notice is the one related in the Matsyapurāṇa, Chapter 50, stanzas 57-85. But it is not so. For the latter pertains to the question whether Brahmins have exclusively the right to officiate at a sacrifice or whether it is shared by Kṣatriyas as well.⁷

The second sub-section predicts the foundation of the city of Pāṭaliputra, otherwise called Puṣpapura, and the number of years for which it will subsist. There is, in the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sutta, a mention of the fort of Pāṭali on the southern bank of the Ganges where the Son meets it. The said fort was built by king Ajātasatru, a descendant of Śiśunāga, to curb and keep in awe the Licchhavis of Vaiśālī on the northern bank after the conquest of the republic.⁸ His grandson Udaya laid there the foundations of the city of Pāṭaliputra, so runs the purāṇic tradition.⁹ This item of the second sub-section has the support of an old Buddhist sutta and a purāṇa.

The third sub-section relates to king Śāliśūka of Pāṭaliputra. Gargāchārya describes him as one intent on the abolition of sacrificial ritual and applies to him the adjectives *wicked* and *irreligious*. There is a prediction in this third sub-section that Śāliśūka will achieve the conquest of Jainism throughout

ऋत्विजश्चायवोत्क्रुद्धः स राजा जनमेजयः । दौर्बल्यं भवतामेतद्
यदयं धर्षितः क्रतुः ॥ विषये मे न वस्तव्यं गच्छध्वं सह बान्धवैः ।
इत्युक्तास्तत्यजुर्विप्रास्ते नृपं जनमेजयम् ॥ ह. व. । ३ । ५ ।
११—१५, १८—१९ ।

7. See the quotation from the Matsyapurāṇa as given in Pargiter's Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali age, pages 87-88.

8. See Smith's Early History of India, 4th Edition, pages 37-38.

9. See वायुप. । ८८ । ३१६-३२० । उदयो भविता तस्मात्
त्रयस्त्रिंशत् समा नृपः । स वै पुरवरं राजा पृथिव्यां कुसुमाह्वयम् ।
गङ्गाया दक्षिणे कूले चतुर्थेऽग्रे करिष्यति ॥ ।

Saurāṣṭra by persecuting the people and will enhance the glory of the religiousness of his elder brother Samprati, amongst the various sections of the Jain Community. Mr. Jayaswal, in his article headed "Historical data in the Yugapurāna" states that one of the copies of the Bhāgavata Purāna speaks of Śālīśuka as the son of Kuṇāla, that is to say, the brother of Daśaratha and Samprati.¹⁰ Historians say that, on the death of Kuṇāla, there was a partition of the Mauryan Empire between his two sons Daśaratha and Samprati.¹¹ The eastern portion with Pāṭaliputra for its capital fell to the lot of Daśaratha and the western portion with Ujjayinī for its capital to the lot of Samprati. In the western branch of the Mauryas, according to the Divyāvadāna, Samprati was succeeded by four kings, namely, Brhaspati, Vṛṣasena, Puṣyadharman and Puṣyamitra.¹² In the eastern branch historians name Śālīśuka, Devadharman, Śatadhanvan and Brhadhratha as the four successors of Daśaratha. Samprati ascended the throne in the west in the same year that Daśaratha did in the east, and died one year later. The Yugapurāna describes Śālīśuka as the ruler of Saurāṣṭra in the reign of Samprati and the Vāyupurāna makes him succeed Daśaratha,¹³ which gives room to the supposition that Śālīśuka, while yet a prince, was a regent of Saurāṣṭra in the west and that he (latterly) came to the throne in the east after Daśaratha in the lifetime

10. See Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, September, 1928, page 416.

11. See Early History of India, paragraph 203 and the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, page 312. The names of Samprati and his successors are found in the Aśokāvadāna forming a part of the Divyāvadāna.

12. See the following quotation therefrom :—

संपदेर्बृहस्पतिः पुत्रो बृहस्पतेर्बृषसेनो वृषसेनस्य पुष्यधर्मा पुष्यधर्मणः
पुष्यमित्रः ।.....यदा पुष्यमित्रो राजा प्रधातितस्तदा मौर्यवंशः
समुच्छ्रवः ।

13. See the reading of cVa P. T., page. 291.

of Samprati.¹⁴ The latter professed Jainism, being converted to it by the preaching of Ārya Suhastin.¹⁵ It seems likely that his younger brother also became a Jain with him and was (subsequently) appointed by him a ruler of Saurāṣṭra purposely to introduce Jainism there. Jain writers lavish praises on Samprati and Kumārapāla, and do it rightly. The honour, however, of promulgating the Jain religion in the province of Saurāṣṭra belongs to Samprati's younger brother Śālīsuka as stated in the Yugapurāṇa.

The fourth sub-section gives an account of diverse future wars of the Magadha state with Yavanas. They prove to be the Greek Chiefs of the second century B.C. ruling in Bactria, Kabul and the Punjab, as may be gathered from the reference to Śālīsuka in the third, to Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra in the fourth and to Vasumitra and Odraka in the fifth sub-section, whose reigns happen to fall in that period. Now because it was the country with Śākala for its capital (i.e., the Punjab) that was first occupied by Yavanas as stated in the fourth sub-section, it was probably Demetrius, King of Bactria beyond the Hindukusha outside India, that led the first invasion. The probability becomes a certainty when we at the same time take into consideration the other prediction, that after their defeat the retreating Yavanas will be involved in a war with their own people in their native land. The Greek antagonist of Demetrius was Eukretides figuring in the annals of ancient Bactria.¹⁶ Interpreting the prophecy of the Yugapurāṇa in the light of history, I am of opinion that Demetrius invaded the Magadha country in B.C. 175 *circa* during the reign of Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty. For it was in this year

14. Daśaratha and Samprati came to the throne in the same year; and Daśaratha died one year earlier than Samprati. Bearing this in mind, I have here stated that Śālīsuka ascended the throne of Pāṭaliputra in the life-time of Samprati.

15. See Hemachandra's *Parīśiṣṭa Parvan*. Samprati is said to have built many Jain temples in Rajputana to promote Jainism. See E.H.I., page 202, footnote 1.

16. See E. H. I. or Cam. H. I.

that Eukretides succeeded in seizing the kingdom of Bactria in his absence.¹⁷ And at the end of the long war the countries watered by the Kabul were lost to Demetrius who, after the loss of the territories in the north-west, retained the Punjab and Sind only.

The sub-section speaks of more than two Greek chiefs to have joined together in the first invasion just mentioned. I, therefore, surmise that Agathocles, Puntaleon, Antimachus and others of the Kabul Valley who were kinsmen of Demetrius took part in the said expedition under his leadership. And Demetrius might have taken the route made known (to the Greeks) by the (Indian) campaign of Alexander the Great. It appears that his passage across either the Indus or the Jhelum was disputed by an Indian ruler. For, in certain coins of Antimachus who was an ally of Demetrius, there is the commemoration of a naval victory.¹⁸

Ancient Greek historians state that Demetrius, king of Bactria, invaded and conquered the Punjab and made Śākala the capital of his dominions on this side of the Hindukusha, calling the town Euthademia in memory of his father.¹⁹ But they make no mention of his having advanced further and subjugated the Pañchāla and Śūrasena countries, nor of the war with the Magadha state.²⁰ It is only the present sub-section of the Yūgapurāṇa that takes note of it.

After giving the account of the first invasion by Yavanas, the sub-section passes on to the second. The Yūgapurāṇa prophesies that seven chiefs of the land with Śākala for its capital

17. See E. H. I., page 237.

18. See the following extract from Cam. H. I., page 547 :—"The Bactrian Indian coins of Antimachus with their types 'Poseidon' and 'Victory' must refer to a naval triumph and it is difficult to explain the allusion except on the supposition that this king had won a victory on one of the great Indian rivers, the Indus or the Jhelum."

19. See E. H. I.

20. At one time Mr. D. R. Bhandarker held the opinion that the Greek who invaded the Śūrasena and the Magadha country must be Demetrius. But he has latterly given it up. See E. H. I., pages 228-229, foot-note.

will invade the country (i.e., mid-India). Their brave soldiers will cut down all who will offer opposition and will cause the earth to be shockingly red and terrible to look at on account of the corpses of their opponents slain in battles weltering in blood. Then there will be terribly severe fighting in the Magadha country along the banks of the Ganges, in which the Yavana chiefs and their soldiers will all perish at the hand of Puṣyamitra. The chiefs that led the second invasion are said to have been ruling in the Punjab. It (i.e., the second invasion) is said to have been subsequent to the destruction of the Yavanas in a civil war after the first invasion. From the said data I conclude that it (i.e., the second invasion) is identical with the invasion by Menander mentioned in history.

The second invasion once refers to the slaughter of Indian soldiers (who oppose the invaders) causing the earth to be saturated with their blood, and then to the severe and bloody fight along the banks of the Ganges in the Magadha country itself. The prophecy of the Yugapurāṇa thus seems to imply that the Yavanas also invaded (adjacent) subject territories outside the Magadha state. Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya incidentally tells us, in two sentences²¹ illustrative of the use of the imperfect past tense, which these territories were. One of them speaks of Śāketa, that is, Ayodhyā, being besieged by the Yavanas, and the other of Madhyamikā in the province of Vidiśā. Both the sieges happen to have failed. Had the Yavanas succeeded in their attempt on Ayodhyā, the great grammarian's illustration in the Mahābhāṣya should have been worded अजयद् यवनः साकेतम्, not अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम्.²² Similarly, should the Yavanas have captured Madhyamikā and advancing further been able to lay siege to Vidiśā, he would have named Vidiśā in the illustrative sentence dropping Madhyamikā.

21. See the examples, there given, of the use of the imperfect in Sanskrit अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम् and अरुणद् यवनेना मध्यमिकाम् ।

22. Compare the example अजयद् गुप्तो ह्वयान्, of the use of the imperfect in Sanskrit, given by Vasurāta in his *ṛtti* (gloss) on Chandragomin's Chāndravākyakaraṇa.

Cutting short the discussion relating to the invasion of subject territories, let us turn to the Magadha country. The war raged like wild fire along the banks of the Ganges throughout the country. Lacomie Garga does not give the details, but only foretells the issue, which is to the effect that the Yavana chiefs, that is to say Menander and his companions, will fall in the battle, and their armies also will be destroyed by Puṣyamitra.

Out of the six war comrades of Menander, I can name two only. One was Demetrius II and the other Antiochus. They are mentioned in the *Malindrapanho*²³ among the eminent Greek chiefs attending the court of Menander. The said Buddhist work mentions Śākala as the capital of Milindra, that is, Menander.²⁴ Writing about him Strabo states that he crossed the Bias not crossed by Alexander the Great and left behind the Isamus,²⁵ that is, Ikshumati or Jumna. Plutarch bears testimony to his advance further still. He writes that he fell fighting with Indian princes in the valley of the Ganges.²⁶ This I take to be the (lower) Gangetic valley in the Bihar and not the upper one in Mid-India. The statements of Plutarch and Gargāchārya taken together point out that the issue of the war was not in favour of the Greeks which bears out what has been said above. Modern historians note one invasion of India by Bactrian Greeks, name Menander as the invader, ascribe to him the

23. See Cam. H. I. p. 550. These names occur in the *Milindrapanho* and they are in Prakrit. Their Sanskrit equivalents, given there by Prof. Rapson, are Devamantriya and Anantakāya.

24. See Cam. H. I. p. 549.

25. See the quotations given, Cam. H. I. p. 542. In the said passage there occurs the word *Hypanis*. It is understood by scholars to stand for 'Hypasis' that is, Sanskrit Vipāśā (Bias). The river there mentioned is "Isamus". This has not been identified. I take it to be Prakrit Issumai, Sanskrit Ikṣumati which is synonymous with the Jumna; see Nando Lal Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*.

26. Rhys Davids says in the introduction to questions of King Milinda on the authority of Plutarch "He died in camp in a campaign against the Indians in the valley of the Ganges". This statement, read in the light of the *Yugapurāṇa* implies that, beset by Puṣyamitra in their camp, the Greeks might have been all cut to pieces in their attempt to force a passage and escape.

conquest of the Pañchāla and Śūrasena countries and accredit him with laying siege to and capturing Saketa, that is, Ayodhyā.²⁷ The Yugapurāna notes not one invasion but two, ascribes the conquest of the Pañchāla and Saurāṣṭra countries to the chief who led the first invasion, that is, to Demetrius as has been just ascertained, and records the death of the chiefs and the total annihilation of the Greek armies in the second invasion. Among the ancient, Strabo only notes two invasions; but he does not appear to know much about them. It is the fourth subsection that contributes to our knowledge on this head.

The two wars, mentioned above, were waged on account of land hunger. The war to be next noted sprang from a demand for a princess in marriage (lit. on account of a woman). The description of it given in the Yugapurāna is meagre and sketchy. It runs as under "while Puṣyamitra will be reigning over the country called Madra, he will be involved in a terrible conflict with those hostile to Brāhmanism (that is Yavanas) to have her (i.e., the Greek princess). On his falling in the battle, Agnimitra, by his might, will bring the war to a successful issue (lit. to an end) and, solemnly crowned as emperor, will have a prolonged reign of thirty years." This war appears to have originated in the demand for a very beautiful princess in marriage by king Puṣyamitra after the Greek chiefs of the Punjab had acknowledged his supremacy subsequent to the second invasion. Inter-marriages of Greek princesses and Indian princes had begun as early as the third century B.C. We read in history that Selucus Nicator married his daughter in the family of Chandragupta, the Maurya, *circa* 305 B.C.²⁸ Agreeably to this practice of making political matches the Śūnga

27. See E. H. I. and Cam. H. I.

28. See E. H. I., p. 125. "The high contracting powers ratified the peace by 'a matrimonial alliance' which phrase probably means that Seleukos gave a daughter to his Indian rival." When this peace was made the Maurya Emperor was nearly sixty years old. So I imagine that the Greek princess should have been married to the heir-apparent prince Bindusāra. The newly acquired territories appear to have been placed under his (i.e., Bindusāra's) rule. In Buddhist religious works Bindusāra is spoken of as the ruler of Takṣaṣilā.

Emperor had sought the Greek damsel in marriage. At that time Puṣyamitra was more than sixty years old,²⁹ and his son Agnimitra had lately married a Vidarbha princess named Mālavikā.³⁰ So it appears that the Greek princess was sought for Prince Vasumitra, son of king Agnimitra. Her father declined to marry her. If this Greek chief were the one who is said to have seized the sacrificial horse of Puṣyamitra³¹ performing the second horse sacrifice, on the southern bank of the Indus, he should be a member of the family of Eukretides of the Indus valley.³² In the war that broke out, Puṣyamitra lost his life; and Agnimitra, fuming with rage, vigorously pushed the war to the bitter end. It was only then that he received the installation ceremonies. This leads to the supposition that the festivities of the coronation of the father and the celebration of the marriage of the heir-apparent son (with the Greek princess) got conjoined.

The purāṇas allot eight years to the reign of Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty, while the figure given in the Yugapurāṇa is thirty years. At first sight the difference appears startling. But there is no reason to start at the (seeming) discrepancy of the figures. For Agnimitra had been actually reigning independently while his father lived. The Mālvikāgnimitra names Vidiśā as his capital, describes him as freely exercising powers of making peace and war and mentions his own cabinet of ministers. The Yugapurāṇa seems to have counted the period of his rule over the entire Śuṅga empire in continuity of his rule as heir-apparent over a part of it, and given the figure of thirty years. I infer this from the use of the phrase prolonged reign (स्फूर्ति राज्यम्). The Śuṅga king Odraka, who

29, 30, 31. See Appendix 8.

32. The end of the war between Demetrius and Eukretius finds the Indus as the dividing line separating the territories of the rival families; see Cam. H. I., p. 554. "Henceforth Yavana princes are found only in kingdoms south of the Hindukush, and they are divided into two rival dynasties, the successors of Eukretius in the Kabul valley and in N.W. India and the successors of Euthydemo in the eastern region of the Punjab."

is mentioned in the next sub-section as the successor of Vasumitra, has been, in the purāṇas, said to have reigned seven years. Now the inscription on the Prabhāsa Hill in the ruins of Kauśāmbī records the tenth year of the reign of Odraka,³³ which points out that in those days there was in vogue the practice of adding to the period of the rule over the entire Śuṅga empire the years of the previous rule over a part of it. In the case of Agnimitra the years of his kingly and his imperial rule have been added in the Yugapurāṇa, as has been noted in the instance of Odraka in the Prabhāsa Hill inscription.

Cursory as the notice of the third war is, it is to be met with nowhere except in the Yugapurāṇa. It is not even passingly mentioned in Greek annals. The instance of an Indian king seeking the hand of a foreign Greek princess noted here is the first of its kind that we come across in ancient Indian history.

The fifth sub-section refers to the inroads of barbarous Śaka nomads and their rule. In the first part of it Gargāchārya says prophetically, "Odraka will then be king, succeeding Vasumitra. He will fall fighting with Śaka raiders, being mortally wounded by an arrow. There will then be staying in Pāṭaliputra half the population (only), half of which the Śakas will massacre, carrying away to their native place the other half as captives". That this inroad of Śakas happened in the reign of a Śuṅga king coming after Agnimitra is discernible in the text of the Yugapurāṇa in spite of its being corrupt. Greek historians enable us to know who made the inroad. Mithradates II of Parthia, called the Great, drove back the tide of Śaka invaders from Bactria. Met with a repulse in the west, they turned their steps southward and overthrowing Heliocles of the family of Eukretides in Seistan, settled there (B.C. 120).³⁴ And B.C. 119 happens to be the closing year of the reign of the

33. See Cam. H. I., p. 521, paragraph 2.

34. See E. H. I., p. 240, paragraphs 2-3.

Śuṅga King Odraka.³⁵ Now the years of the termination of the reigns of the two kings (Heliocles and Odraka) are so close that I am led to believe that the very Śakas should be the people at whose hands Odraka lost his life in battle. These Śakas marching from their homes beyond the Hindukush, made a rush on the Magadha country as did the Bactrian Greeks in the first invasion. Warring with them Odraka was slain and Pāṭaliputra fell in the hands of the nomad raiders who plundered the city, made the citizens captives and went back to their native place.

This terrible irruption of the Śakas of Seistan is not mentioned anywhere else. Historians record the conquest of the Greek kingdom beyond the Hindukush by Śakas in B.C. 120 on the authority of Chinese annals.³⁶ But the first inroad of that predatory tribe into India is noted here only in the Yugapurāṇa.

Mr. Jayaswal thinks that the invaders might have been Śavaras.³⁷ But my mind hesitates to believe that the Śavaras, armed simply with the bow and the arrow, could have captured a strongly fortified place like Pāṭaliputra which even Demetrius and Menander with their superior war equipment could not capture. In this connection another point, too, is worth considering. If the lines relating to the death of the Śuṅga king in battle bear connection with the lines about the pillage of Pāṭaliputra and the captivity of its citizens, the Śakas who plundered the people and carried them away in bondage were in all likelihood the persons who slew the Śuṅga King. The Śakas of the next part of the sub-section under comment establish themselves in Pāṭaliputra and rule there for ten years, whereas those of the first part go back to their native place with their booty and their captives. So the lines relating to the plunder and captivity of

35. Chandragupta, according to my computation, founded the Maurya Dynasty in 325-4 B.C. It remained in power for 137 years and the rule of the Śuṅga kings including Odraka covered 68 years. I thus arrive at B.C. 119 as the date of the termination of the reign of Odraka. In this calculation I have taken seven years to be the duration of the reign of Odraka in accordance with the statement in the Matsyapurāṇa.

36. See Cam. H. I., pp 556-7.

37. See J. B. O. R. S., September 1928, p. 413.

the people of Pāṭaliputra cannot be included in the second part. If the text as rearranged be acceptable, it would follow that the first inroad was by none but the Śakas.

Let us now take up the next part which relates to the Śaka rule in Pāṭaliputra. The Āchārya says "Thereafter there will be mighty Amlāṭa. He will attack Pāṭaliputra, massacre the inhabitants and lay waste the city. All the four castes will be extinct. He will then repopulate it with men below the four castes (that is, the Śakas). He and his relatives will be killed by one, Gopāla, who will be king over the remnant of the population after the revolution. He will be slain by Puṣpaka, and the latter by Śarvila, each after one year's reign. Śarvila also, after a reign of three years, will lose his life at the hand of a fellow Śaka, whose reign too will last for three years. Impelled by land hunger the last Śaka king will invade the Kāliṅga country. Its ruler Śāta will kill the ferocious hungry wolf and its flock. Then the valiant Śāta will conquer the (Magadha) land, and after a reign of ten years will die. All the five Śaka chiefs, will be very avaricious. So the Magadha land will be desolate at the end of the Śaka rule; and Pāṭaliputra will present a sorry sight, ceasing to be the seat of government. In time to come there will be a king of a new dynasty there, that is to say, it will again be the capital, bless the city.

The text of sage Garga which records the Śaka rule over Pāṭaliputra for ten years, also gives the clue to arrive at the date. The last Śaka king in his expedition against the Śāta ruler of the Kāliṅgas, perished with all his followers at the hands of the latter, who subsequently conquered the Magadha country, reigned for ten years and died. The downfall of Pāṭaliputra from the height of its political eminence is laid in the reign of the Kāṇva king Suśarman by the purāṇas.³⁸ He was slain by a chief of the Śātavāhana dynasty after which Pāṭaliputra ceased to be the seat of government. Let us therefore, consider when Suśarman came to the throne and how long he reigned.

38. See P. I, pp. 33-35.

The purāṇas name four kings only of the Kāṇva dynasty and the total of the years of their reigns is said to be forty-five.³⁹ But the figures for their reigns severally, summed up, amount to fifty-five.⁴⁰ The excess of ten years in the second computation is probably due to the inclusion of the decade of the Śaka occupation of Pāṭaliputra. I put the commencement of the decade of the Śaka rule in the closing year of the reign of the Kāṇva king Nārāyaṇa, that is, in B.C. 35. In that year Amlāta made an inroad on Pāṭaliputra. His name struck terror in the hearts of the citizens, half of whom left their homes and fled for their lives; King Nārāyaṇa, too, might have removed his family to a place of safety. In the tumult of war the Kāṇva king lost his life and Pāṭaliputra remained under Śaka supremacy for ten years. The last Śaka chief fell in the expedition against the Kalingas at the hands of a ruler of the Śāta-vāhana dynasty in B.C. 25. On receiving the news Suśarman of the Kāṇva family came out of his place of refuge and took possession of Pāṭaliputra. He reigned there for four years, when the Magadha country was invaded by the aforesaid king of the Śāta dynasty in B.C. 21. Suśarman fell in the war, and with him ended the Kāṇva line of kings. I am disposed to think that Vāyupurāṇa has included the decade of the Śaka rule in the computation of the total length of the rule of the Kāṇva kings. This supposition enables us to bring in harmony the account of the Yugapurāṇa and the Vāyupurāṇa.

He who is said to have destroyed the Śakas of Pāṭaliputra in the fifth sub-section, might probably be Pulamayi I, the fifteenth in the purāṇic list of kings of the Āndhra dynasty. His initial regnal year falls in the latter part of the first half of the first century B.C. and the closing year in about the beginning of the era.⁴¹ The mention of him in the Yugapurāṇa as king of the Kalinga country signifies that it was included in his dominion. The Āndhra kings are so named in the purāṇas

39, 40. See P. T. pp. 33-35.

41. See the list of Śuṅga, Kāṇva and Āndhra kings facing p. 202 of E. H. I. (1902).

because they were ethnically Āndhras. They were by dynasty, Śātavāhanas or Śātakarnis. Sage Garga happens to have shortened the dynastic name Śātavāhana and referred to Pulamayi I as a Śāta. He it was, who brought to a close the Kāṇva rule in B.C. 21.

The proposed date B. C. 35 of the invasion of the Magadha country by Amlāṭa falls in the reign of the Śaka king Azes or Aya the First. He is said to have ruled from B.C. 58 to B.C. 11.⁴² He succeeded the Śaka king Maues or Moga who reigned from B.C. 75 to B.C. 58 as recorded in history on the authority of the Takṣaśilā copperplate and the coins of Moga.⁴³ His rule stretched along the banks of the Indus.⁴⁴ Azes I pushed further and overthrowing the descendants of Euthydemus, brought the whole of the Punjab under his rule⁴⁵. I suppose that Amlāṭa possibly was a governor of the eastern portion of the newly acquired territories. This adventurous Śaka might have made an inroad on the Magadha country in B.C. 35, and after putting the inhabitants of Pāṭaliputra to the sword and laying waste the town, repeopled it by a colony of Śakas from the Punjab, mentioned in the Yugapurāṇa as men below the four castes (वर्णाधोवस्थित). Gopāla, Puṣpaka, Śarvīla and the last unnamed Śaka chief who put on the royal robes dyed in the blood of their predecessors that were their countrymen, were probably immigrant Śakas from the Punjab. Their Sanskrit names testify to their descent from the Śakas settled on the banks of the Indus and got Indianized. At that early date the Śakas do not appear to have subjugated the basin of the Jumna and the Ganges. So one can safely say that the easterly colony of Pāṭaliputra, cut off from the Punjab motherland, received no fresh influx from the north-westerly Śakas, nor any reinforcement.

Mr. Jayaswal proposes to identify Amlāṭa with Amyntas, Gopālobhāma with Appollophanes, Puṣpaka with Peukelaos

42, See Cam. H. I., pp. 571, 573 and 701.

43, 44, 45. See Cam. H. I., pp. 570 and 571.

and Śarvīla with Zoilos.⁴⁶ But Amyntas, Appollophanes, Peukelaos and Zoilos were Greeks, that is, Yavanas, whereas Amlāṭa, Gopāla, Puṣpaka and Śarvīla were Śakas. Gargāchārya applies the term *mlechchha* to the last named four chiefs. It is never applied by him to Yavanas. Of the Greek chiefs mentioned by Mr. Jayaswal none was equal to Demetrius or Menander in valour to induce us to believe that he could have led an attack on Pāṭaliputra. It was altogether impossible for these Greek chiefs to establish Greek rule in the Magadha country which neither Demetrius nor Menander could do. The Yavanas were brave warriors. The Śakas on the other hand were plundering barbarians. The two Greek heroes named above put to the sword all Indians who (bravely) opposed them as did Alexander the Great; and so far Gargāchārya regards their exploits blood-stained. But the ferocious Śakas massacred all indiscriminately and were insatiably avaricious. When we take this into consideration, the identifications proposed by the learned editor (of the *Yugapurāṇa*) do not seem plausible.

With the termination of the political eminence of Pāṭaliputra the fifth sub-section is brought to a close. Its contents are wholly new. We have a knowledge of the invasion of India by Bactrian Greeks, insufficient though it is (from other sources). They had built up a leech of petty states in the land between the Hindukush and the Sutlaj as outlined by the find of their coins. But the account of the Śaka invasion in B.C. 120 and of the Śaka occupation of Pāṭaliputra from B.C. 35 to B.C. 25 has been up to now a thing unknown to us.

The political section of the *Yugapurāṇa* is now over; and the social section begins. The prophetic sage says "In those big and dreadful wars many men will perish, in consequence of which there will be scarcity of males; and women will transact all business. They will have to draw the plough and guard the fields, bow in the hand. There will be ten to twenty wives with but one husband. Āryan religion too will greatly suffer in purity.

46. See J. B. O. R. S., September 1928, p. 412.

Śūdras will get into the order of itinerant mendicants (परिव्राजक), wearing matted hair on the head and bark garment on the person. They will, though disqualified for the āśrama life, be householders worshipping household fires. These Śūdras will take the place of Brāhmaṇas, and officiate at sacrifices. Orthodox Āryans will live in close intimacy with people professing new heresies. They will admit aliens into the Āryan fold. Urged by lower instincts there will be hostilities for the sake of woman. In the name of *dharma* (charity) holy fathers (lit. old religious mendicants) will eat up the wealth of credulous lay people. Filled with dismay by the sufferings of married life, house-holders will put on coloured garments (i.e., become religious mendicants). About that time there will be no drop of rain for two years consecutively and a terrible famine will ensue which will cause dreadful havoc among the people."

The fact that stands out prominently before us in the social condition described by the āchārya is the tremendous destruction of men by the tyranny of the Śaka rule and the ravages of the famine. Its baneful consequences were felt not only in home life and in business and industrial pursuits, but in other directions too. The big sacrifice of human life has been instrumental to the loss of Brāhmaṇic and Jain lore in part and of the literature of the Ājīvakas *in toto*. For instance, several Vedic schools have disappeared and several sūtra works on *śrauta* and *smārta* ceremonial have been lost, we know not how many. Before the highly finished Raghuvamśa was composed in a simple narrative style, there must have been good many poems written in the same strain similar to it. Out of them not one has come down to us. Āpastamba mentions an earlier Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.⁴⁷ That work as also other purāṇas have disappeared with the disappearance of the class of reciters and listeners of those purāṇas. We possess only the later redactions of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, of the Suśruta and the Charaka, etc. These works in their original form are irrecoverably lost. Even the Mahābhāṣya

47. See Cam. H. I., p. 249.

of Sage Patañjali had been wiped out of existence along with others. Copies of it were much in demand in the reign of king Abhimanyu of Kashmir. But they were nowhere to be had in Northern India. So (the Grammarian) Chandrāchārya cut his way through the Vindhya, crossed the Godāvari and travelled to the hilly land in the province called Trilinga forming a part of the Trikūta country in Southern India; and it was there that he recovered the Mahābhāṣya, lost elsewhere, in manuscript.⁴⁸ This is a curious piece of telling documentary proof of the havoc wrought among teachers and disciples described above.

The section under comment refers to the admission of aliens to the Āryan religion, and of this the Besanagar Pillar Inscription furnishes an instance. The pillar in question had been set up and dedicated to Viṣṇu by Heliodorus, a Greek who had adopted Vaiṣṇavism.⁴⁹ In the foregoing sub-section the Śāka chief Amlāta is described as wearing coloured garments. It is likely, therefore, that he and possibly his successors had embraced Buddhism. The fanatic zeal of the new converts might have given an upper hand to the Buddhist religion as hinted in the present section. Some say that Puṣyamitra, the Śuṅga, when he became king, offered a prize of one hundred *dināras* to anyone who would bring the head of a Buddhist mendicant to him.⁵⁰ They seem to have confounded Puṣyamitra the Maurya and Pushyamitra the Śuṅga. It is Puṣyamitra the Maurya that is spoken of in the Aśokāvadāna as a bitter enemy of Buddhist mendicants and not Puṣyamitra the Śuṅga.⁵¹ Our present section alludes to hostilities caused

48. See appendix 9.

49. See Cam. H. I., pp. 521 and 558.

50. See Cam. H. I., pp. 518-19 and E. H. I., p. 213, foot-note.

51. See the following extract from the Aśokāvadāna in the Divyāvadāna:

पुष्यमित्रो यावत्संघारामान् भिक्षूँश्च प्रघातयन् प्रस्थितः ।
स यावच्छक्रलमनु प्राप्तः । तेनाभिहितम् । यो मे
श्मशाशिरो दास्यति तस्याहं दानारशतं दास्यामि ।

This Puṣyamitra is said to be the fourth in descent from the Maurya Samprati in the *Avadāna*,

for a woman, which refers to the last war of the Śuṅgas with the Bactrian Greeks about a Greek princess. The incidents of the fourth and fifth sub-sections have been thus borne out in a way in the sixth sub-section

Garga and his saṁhitā.

The Yugapurāṇa forms the last chapter of the Garga-saṁhitā. Professor E. J. Rapson calls the saṁhitā a late work.⁵² Accepting the date assigned to it by the famous European scholar Max Müller, V. A. Smith in his early History of India, puts the said saṁhitā in the second or the third century of the Christian era.⁵³ But since Gargāchārya concludes his prophetic survey with the overthrow of the Kāṇva rule, there is reason to believe that the saṁhitā should have been composed not long after the reign of Suśarman. Its author has no knowledge of Kajuṇa and other Śakas of Mathurā. Had the saṁhitā been composed in the second or the third century A.D., it is the least likely that there should be no mention of a Kṣatrapa of Saurāṣṭra or Malava in it. To my mind the Gargasamhitā appears to belong to the beginnings of the first century B.C., that is to say, to the first or the second decade thereof. Mr. Jayaswal puts it in the first half of the first century B.C.⁵⁴

The author of this ancient work on Indian astronomy bears the name Garga. It is really not his name proper, but his family name. The sage is comparatively better acquainted with Northern India than with the southern peninsula.⁵⁵ Barring

52. See Cam. H. I., p. 544.

53. See E. H. I., p. 228.

54. See J. B. O. R. S., September 1928, p. 399.

55. The account of the famine mentions the Irāvati (the Ravi in the Punjab or the Rapti in Oudh), the Viśākhā (the Saryu in Oudh), the Suvarṇā (the Son), the Kausiki (the Gandaki), the Vetravati (the Betwa) and the Śarasvatī, besides the two big rivers of India, the Indus and the Ganges. They all belong to Northern India. The only river of the southern peninsula that finds mention there is the Kāverī, the stream of which is said to have been running for three hundred *yojanas*. This portion of the Yugapurāṇa has not been published. But Mr. Jayaswal has given a brief summary of it. I have drawn upon it for the names of rivers here given. It will facilitate the solution of the question regarding the native place of Garga, if a good edition of his saṁhitā be made available.

the mention of the Kalinga country in the account of the expedition of the last Śāka king (of Pāṭaliputra), the political section of the Yugapurāṇa is devoted to the history of Āryāvarta and mostly of the capital of the Magadha country in particular. There is, besides, no information therein about the long line of Āndhra rulers (of the Deccan) with but the solitary exception of the casual notice of a Śāta King who extirpated the Kāpvas. All these facts point to the eastern portion of Āryāvarta as the home of the author of Gargasamhitā. The sage was a Brahmin by caste. He was well acquainted with purāṇic traditions and highly proficient in ancient Indian astronomy. Varāhamihira in his Brhatsamhitā frequently cites Garga as an authority of great repute; and his commentator Bhaṭṭa Utpala gives very many quotations from the Gargasamhitā.

Mr. Jayaswal suspects that the Gargasamhitā might have been originally in Prakrit or in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. Such is the opinion of the great purāṇic scholar Pargiter too regarding the original Purāṇa texts.⁵⁶ This opinion, along with other views of his, has been refuted by Principal A. B. Dhruva in his comments (in Gujarati) on Pargiter's Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.⁵⁷ Garga is not a Buddhist or a Jain who could possibly be presumed to have written in an archaic Prakrit allied to that of the Tripitaka or the Āchārāṅga-sūtra. That a Brāhmaṇa author of Jyotiṣ should have composed his samhitā in a Prakrit akin to the Pali or the Ardhamāgadhī is a view which stands too much in need of corroborative evidence to be accepted. To say that because the text handed down to us is extremely corrupt, the original should have been in a vulgar idiom, is rather an extravagant assumption. If we do but render twenty to twenty-five lines of the text, verse for verse, in the Prakrit used by the masses about the beginning of the Christian era and in Sanskrit of cultured people, a comparison of the two will make it clear which of them is genuine. What

56. See P. T. Introduction x-xi and xvii-xviii.

57. See Principal Dhruva's Lecture published in the *Buddhi-prakash* of July 1924, with the heading "Paurāṇik Itihās."

I have attempted in one direction let some scholar attempt independently in the other. There is another line of enquiry also demanding our attention. Of the numerous quotations from the *Gargasamhitā* by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on the *Brhatsamhitā* is there any that is in Prakrit or in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit? So far as I know, they are all in Sanskrit. It goes to prove that the *Gargasamhitā* is not a Prakrit but Sanskrit work. The presumption that the Āchārya composed the *Yugapurāṇa* in Prakrit and the other chapters in Sanskrit, cannot be entertained for a moment.

The last chapter of the *Gargasamhitā* seems to be named *Yugapurāṇa*, because the Āchārya therein gives briefly an account of the four Yugas or ages. In the chronology of the purāṇic yugas, the Kaliyuga is said to begin from the day of departure of Lord Kṛṣṇa to heaven. The purāṇa scholar Pargiter cites in this connection the following lines of purāṇic tradition preserved in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. "Then on the very day when Kṛṣṇa departed to heaven, the Kali age set in. So say those proficient in purāṇic tradition."⁵⁸

The epoch which marked the decadence of the immensely remote Āryan culture in consequence of the tremendous havoc caused by the *Mahābhārata* War, was believed to be the one in which was heard the tramp of the footsteps of the coming Kali age, agreeably to which its initial date has been laid down as given in the above quoted stanza of purāṇic tradition. It was the point of contact of the then living present and futurity; and on this assumption it became the practice to employ the future tense with reference to the then prophetic events of the Kali age. The said practice, established as a usage in purāṇas, has been followed in the account of the Kali age in the *Yugapurāṇa*. Sage Garga does not give a connected history, but notes briefly events uncommonly important in his eyes. In the *Yugapurāṇa* there is a record of the forceful conversion of the people of *Saurāṣṭra* to Jainism as of the war waged by *Puṣyamitra* for a *Yavana* damsel and of religious mendicants

eating up the earnings of lay people by their preachings of *dharma* (charity) as of Āryans of the upper three castes sinking to the Sūdra level which disposes us to believe in the impartiality of its author. How far he has described historic events without exaggeration can only be determined by a thorough and searching examination of the Yugapurāṇa. I conclude with a request to scholars to regard what has been said in this paper as possible surmises, not as established truths, nor as probable inferences.

"Search after truth which is above all things, be our goal."

APPENDIX I.

The text of the Yugapurāna as found in the manuscript consulted by Mr. Jayaswal, has been given in J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIV, Pt. III, pp. 400-408.

APPENDIX II.

The distribution of the disarranged text into pieces to be arranged into sections.

Old order.	Piece.	Subdivision.	Section.	Subdivision.
1	2	3	4	5
1-26	1	1-7	1	
		8-15	2	
		16-22	3	
		23-26	4	1
27-40	2	*27-38, 40	6	2
41	3	...	4	2
42-52	4	...	4	4
53-57	5	...	5	7
58-60	6	...	5	10
61-63	7	...	5	3
64	8	...	5	9
65-69	9	...	5	4
70-78	10	...	5	6
79-82	11	...	4	3
83-89	12	...	4	5
90-93	13	...	5	1
94-103	14	...	6	1
104-105	15	...	5	8
106-109	16	...	5	2
110	17	...	5	5
111-112	18	...	6	4
113-115	19	...	6	3

* The line 39, which is a repetition of line 29, has been omitted.

APPENDIX III.

The re-arranged sections and their contents, with the pieces
of the disarranged text corresponding to them.

Sections.	Sub- divisions.	Parts.	Corres- ponding pieces.	Lines.	Contents.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1	...	1	1-7	Janamejaya, son of Patik- sit's quarrel with Brāhmaṇa sacrificial priests.
1	2	...	1	8-15	The foundation of Pātali- putra.
1	3	...	...	16-21	Sālīsuka's Religious Con- quest.
...	4	1	1	22-26	Wars with Yavanas.
...	4	2	3	41	
...	4	3	11	79-82	Wars with Yavanas.
...	4	4	4	42-52	Ditto.
...	4	5	12	83-89	
...	5	1	13	90-93	Saka tyranny.
...	...	2	16	106-109	Ditto.
...	...	3	7	61-63	Ditto.
...	...	4	9	65-69	Ditto.
...	...	5	17	110	Ditto.
...	...	6	10	70-78	Ditto.
...	...	7	5	53-57	Ditto.
...	...	8	15	104-105	Ditto.
...	...	9	8	64	Ditto.
...	...	10	6	58-60	Ditto.
2	6	1	14	99-103	Miseries of the people in the Kali age.
...	6	2	2	27-38, 40	Ditto.
...	6	3	19	113-115	Ditto.
...	6	4	18	111-112	Ditto.

APPENDIX IV.

CORRUPTIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

(1—7; १-२) The first two lines have been transposed resulting in the disturbance of the historical sequence of events in which first comes the Mahābhārata War, then the departure of Lord Kṛṣṇa to heaven and after that the commencement of the Kali age. While re-arranging the lines aright, I had to adopt uniformly the *locative absolute* construction agreeably to the rules of syntax. The initial date of the Kali age also had to be made to synchronise with the death of Kṛṣṇa and not of Kṛṣṇā, that is, Draupadī in conformity with the Purāṇa tradition. To place Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, at the close of the Kali age is an anachronism. So I have read अन्तर् in place of अन्ते, as involving the least change on conjecture. Mr. Jayaswal proposed आदौ । Other corrections in lines 4-5 are unimportant. उपधास्यति in line 6 is a clerical error, the sense requires उपयास्यति । The mistake is similar to the substitution of उदधी for उदयो in line 9. The reading दारविप्रकृतामघे : in line 7 is one which may be put up with grammar however requires दारविप्रकृतामर्षी ।

(8—15 ; ८-१५) On the authority of Purāṇas it is necessary to read शिशुनागकुले and उदयो instead of शिशुनागात्मजे and उदधौ respectively in lines 8-9. Udaya was not the son of Śiśunāga, he was the eighth in descent from him. Keeping syntactical agreement in view we have to read समहावरम् in line 10. It has been transformed into समहावरे by the copyist. In line 12 I have substituted तत्तु for the meaningless तेथ as required by the context. Should no better reading suggest itself than the uncouth नगरं पाटलीसुतम्, there would be no help. There is, however, the conjectural reading पुरं पाटलिपुत्रकम् which suits well and deserves to be preferred, being both correct and simple.

Lines 13—15 are full of mistakes in grammar, which even a beginner would hardly commit. These I have corrected,

leaving the figures as they are, for they profess to claim importance.

(16—21 ; १६-२१) The emenda... जनाराम in line 16 for जनराज which is difficult to construe is one which will recommend itself as being easy to interpret. The case of ऋभुचा कर्मसूतः in the next line is somewhat different. It is to be discarded, no doubt, because it conveys no meaning and at the same time makes the line metrically faulty. But the restoration of the right reading is rather taxing to the brain. The lines that come after, throw some light, and with their help I have proposed to read क्रतुकर्मक्षयाकूतः । The word सूतो in line 18 defies all attempt at interpretation. I have substituted निरतो tentatively for want of better one, to make the metrically faulty line run smooth and remove the obscurity. The present अर्दते in line 19 ill suits prophetic statements. I have replaced it by the participle adjective अर्दयन् । By this change lines 18—21 are made to go together and form a simple sentence, so that स of line 20 becomes superfluous. It seems to me that in reality the scribe has unknowingly interchanged the initial letters of lines 19 and 20. To set right the mistake I propose to read the first terms as सौराष्ट्रम् and स्वर्ण्येष्टम् respectively in the said lines. Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out the relationship of Śālīsuka and Samprati. In accordance with the said relationship I have suggested the reading संप्रति in place of कति in line 20.

(22—26 : २२-२६) The 22nd line refers to the subjugation of Śāketa, that is, Ayodhyā, by Yavanas. It is, however, unlikely that an invader from the west should first subjugate Ayodhyā and then turn westward to conquer the Pañchāla and Śūrasena countries. The direct and strategically probable line of march would pass through the Punjab to the Pañchāla country, thence to Śūrasena and further to Magadha. Taking the geographical conditions into consideration I have proposed शाकलम् (the country with Śākala for its capital, that is, the Punjab) in place of साकेतम् । The siege of Śāketa, that is,

Ayodhyā, referred to in the Mahābhāṣya by Patañjali, belongs to the second invasion of India by Yavanas : This has been confounded with the first invasion and has led to the substitution of the better known Śāketa for the less known Śākala. Line 23 mentions कुसुमध्वज । But there is no place that I know of called कुसुमध्वज । Guided by the mention of पुष्पपुर in line 4, I have substituted कुसुमाक्षयम् which is synonymous with पुष्पनामन् of lines 59 and 62. I have suggested तत्रोदामं as a conjectural substitute of श-दुम line 26 for the latter is corrupt and mutilated. The other changes are such as speak for themselves.

(27—40 ; ६७-१०६) This piece which relates to social condition has been wrongly interposed in the account of the first Greek invasion. Of the two conjunctive participles in line 27 I have left out the first, as it is superfluous. At the end of the lines 28 and 30 there occurs युगक्षये which is misleading. It is therefore desirable to read युगेऽन्तिमे in its place for the sake of perspicuity. Under the impression that line 31 alludes to the war waged by Puṣyamitra for the hand of the Greek princess I have read अमित्राणि करिष्यन्ते instead of च मित्राणि करिष्यन्ति । Elaborate tāntric rites have been devised for Śūdras and incorporated in religious ceremonial. Hence I have replaced लघुविक्रियाः by ह्यलघुक्रियाः in line 34. Conformably to the corrections made in lines 28 and 30 I have changed युगान्ते to युगेऽन्त्ये in line 35. Here ओंकारप्रथितैर्मन्त्रैः is evidently incorrect. I have corrected it and read ओंकारप्रथमैर्मन्त्रैः । For the reason given in connection with line 4 I have substituted अन्तर for अन्ते in line 37. Line 39 has been omitted as it is a repetition of line 29. Failing to draw any sense out of the first word in line 40 I have hazarded a possible conjecture that would yield sense.

(41—52 ; २७, ३२-४२) Line 41 relates to Yavana invasion. Here I have read on conjecture यवना अपयास्यन्ति नष्टशेषाः in a way to suit the context in place of यवना ज्ञापयिष्यन्ति

नशरेय which is unintelligible and unsuitable. To make the meaning clear I have rearranged the line 42. For the same reason I have interchanged the latter halves of lines 43 and 44. Moreover in line 43 I have substituted on conjecture the grammatically correct word संमर्दि for संभाव । The copyist by oversight has written युगवशात् in line 45. The right reading seems to be युद्धवशात् which has been restored. The seven chiefs referred to in line 46 are said to have been slain by a Śūṅga King in lines 51-52. I take them to be Menander and his comrades that are said to have led the second invasion. The Greek champion Menander had his seat of government in Śākala and his comrades were rulers of small principalities forming parts of the country with Śākala for its capital, that is to say, of the Punjab. I have accordingly substituted शाकले for साकेते which or dinarily stand for Ayodhyā. Lines 47 and 48 describe the havoc wrought by the soldiers of the said Greek chiefs in battle. To make the sense clear I have replaced तथा योधैः by प्रति योधैः । Other corrections stand in need of no explanatory remarks. Alterations made in line 49 are equally plain. Line 51 begins with the word अग्निवैश्याः which actually points to Śūṅgas. Now we learn from history that of the Śūṅgas it was पुष्यमित्र that waged war with Yavanas. I have, therefore, proposed to read पुष्यमित्रेण in place of अग्निवैश्यास्तु, which is neither correct nor fitting.

(53—57 ; ७६-८०) This piece relates to the last Śaka king of Pāṭaliputra. Lines 54-55 thereof clearly involve tautology which I have removed by reading कलिङ्गान् समुपस्थितः in place of विनाशे समुपस्थिते of line 54. The correction was suggested to me by कलिङ्गशतराजार्थे of the next line. As the latter in turn was incorrect, I had to read कालिङ्गशतराज्यार्थी instead. The first part of line 56 is hopelessly corrupt. By comparing it with the equally corrupt text of lines 91-92 I have remodelled it tentatively. The substitution of घनिष्ठाः for कनिष्ठाः in line 57 is such as would recommend itself to the reader.

(58—60 ; ८४-८६). The devastation mentioned here is attributable not to the fifth Śaka king only but to all the five. So I have adopted the conjectural reading शकराज्ये in line 58. The assertions "linked together by the alternative conjunction वा in line 60 affirming and denying in the same breath are ill-suited to prophetic declarations admitting of no uncertainty. There is, besides the repetition of कश्चिद् । To remedy these defects, I have substituted नवः कश्चिद् for न वा कश्चिद् ।

(61—63, 64, 65, 69 ; ५८-६०, ८३, ६१-६५). These pieces relate to the Śaka rule. In lines 61-62 I have made a few changes required to remove incorrections and bad grammar. Line 63 is very corrupt and there is no predicate. I have recast it and read स वै तद् and आसादयिष्यात् in place सर्वे ते and आसाध पर्वतः respectively. There is no change that requires to be explained in line 64 and there is no correction of any importance in lines 65—69.

(70—78 ; ६७-७५). There is only one corrupt reading worth noticing in lines 70-72 ; पुष्पके चाभिसंयुक्तं is incorrect. Grammatically it should be पुष्पकेनाभिसंयुज्य as has been proposed by me. In line 75 I have substituted शर्विलो for सविलो inasmuch as and other proper nouns are in pure Sanskrit. I have also made use of the correct क्षरणः used before in line 61 instead of the incorrect अनरणो । The transitive absolute participle युक्तवा in line 76 is without an object. I have supplied it by reading पृथ्वी in place of पश्चात् । Similarly वि and अवह्वयः have been replaced by वै and अवह्वयः respectively in line 77. A few other changes have been made where necessary. They are too insignificant to be noted.

(79—82 ; ८८-९१) This piece is a part of the sub-section dealing with the wars with Yavanas. All the four lines are more or less corrupt. The first half of line 79 is metrically faulty. It is syntactically related to line 80, but the latter is difficult to be construed with the former. There is, besides, a superfluous syllable in line 80 and संकुलम् of line 79, is here repeated. Conformably to the subject here dealt with I have made certain

modifications which would be acceptable. Line 82 mentions horses and elephants. I take them to belong to the Śunga army celebrating its victory and not to the equipage of a religious festival. I have accordingly changed वाहनं to वाहनी in line 81. The next line has been recast so as to remove the tautology which the simultaneous use of ह्य and वाह involves. The present does not suit the prophetic declaration. It has, therefore, been replaced by the future form द्रक्ष्यते ।

(83—89 ; ४३-४९). This piece also belongs to the subsection relating to wars with Yavanas. The reading भद्रपाके in line 83 makes it metrically faulty. Then again there is no country called भद्रपाक । So I have proposed मद्राक्ष्यके as its substitute. The latter half of the line is meaningless. I have suggested the reading पुष्यमित्रे प्रशासति in its place in keeping with the record of the Śunga chronology. In line 85 I have dropped which is redundant, and in line 86 I have filled up the hiatus in वि—वशात् by supplying the letter left out. I have further substituted अब्रह्मण्यैः for ब्राह्मः on the supposition that the people against whom Puṣyamitra declared war were none but Yavanas. I have also made some minor changes, required by grammar and metre, which are not worth noticing. अग्निवैश्य has been replaced by the historically correct reading अग्निमित्र in line 85 and in the next line विशद् has been corrected and read त्रिशद्, which includes the period of the reign of Agnimitra as heir apparent prince (ruling over विदिशा and probably over मथुरा previously,) other changes need no comment.

(90—93 ; ५०-५३) This piece forms a part of the account of the Śaka rule. Following the chronological sequence of Śunga Kings I have substituted वसुमित्रात् and अयौद्रकः for अग्निवैश्यः and महोद्वत्, respectively in line 90. I have introduced similar modifications in lines 51, 82 and 88. Other changes are merely accessory. The readings शरसंधानैः and शररसं in lines 91-92 are very perplexing. Line 109 supplies the are clew wherewith to solve the intricacy. The people that are referred to in the incorrect text are the Sakas. On this assumption

I have suggested the emendations शकसंघातैः; and शकैरणे therein. The next line reads महाबले । I have changed it to महाबलैः in order that it may go with शकैः which I believe it qualifies. Mr. Jayaswal proposes to read महाहवे । The first half of line 93 is altogether corrupt. I have restored the right reading नृपः पृषत्कपातिन in its place, and read मृत्युम् instead of मृत्युः which is a clerical mistake.

(94—103 ; ८७-८६) This piece is a part of the social section. Here सदाहणे in line 94 is a slip of pen which has been corrected and read सुदाहणे (by Mr. Jayaswal and myself). Line 96 reads लाङ्गलोवर्ण which is meaningless. I have proposed लाङ्गलोलवण in its place. I have further rectified the latter half of line 97 by reading क्षेचे स्थस्ता धनुर्धराः । I have similarly suggested विंशतिर्दश वा भार्या भविष्यन्ति नरस्य वै as the right text in line 98. The next line has पुरुष for which has been substituted पुरुषाः (by Mr. Jayaswal and myself). The text of line 101 is perplexingly corrupt. I have proposed to read आश्चर्यमिति मंस्यन्ते दृष्टवाथो पुरुषं स्त्रियः there. In line 103 I have suggested नष्टस्वास्थ्याः as a probable correction of नराः स्वस्थाः ।

(104-105 ; ८५-८४). This piece too forms a part of sub-section relating to Saka tyranny. There are two corrections proposed in line 104; one of them is शतवरो in place of सातुवरो and the other is हृत्वा in place of हत्वा । The latter has been suggested by Mr. Jayaswal also.

(106—109 ; ५४-५७). This piece belongs to the Saka invasion. In line 106 I have read अकर्मोपहृताः instead of स्वकर्मोपहृताः and in the next line हरिष्यन्ति शकाः and ताः instead of करिष्यन्ति वकाः and च respectively. I have further substituted शेष in line 109 for बोशं which is a clerical blunder.

(110 ; ६६). This line relates to the Saka rule. The latter half of it is metrically faulty and otherwise corrupt. Where the scribe should have written राज्यपरिचये he has scribbled राज्यस्य परिचयात् ।

(111-112 ; ११३-११४). These two lines belong to the social section. They make a hyperbolical allegation of twelve years' famine which puts us in mind of a similar Jain tradition (in the reign of Chandragupta, the Maurya). They are metrically faulty. So I have proposed to read **द्वे च तदा वर्षे** in line 111 and **गमिष्यन्ति भूयो दुर्मिच्छपोड़िताः** in the next.

(113—115 : ११० ११२). These lines too form a part of the social section. They describe, not the end of the Kali age, but predict the occurrence of a famine in that age. I have accordingly read **दुर्मिच्छो रोमहर्षणः** and **युगस्यान्तर** the rein.

In the reconstruction of the text some of the readings proposed are mere guesses at truth, some are possible and some probable conjectures, some are inferences, some depend on purāṇas, and some on history. It is an attempt to make the text of the Yugapurāṇa understandable to some extent. My labours will not be lost altogether in case there be even one pearl of pure water shedding its brilliance all around in a mass of worthless shells collected by a diver in the salt sea.

APPENDIX 5.

A GLOSSARY OF OBSCURE OR UNUSUAL WORDS.

- अकर्मन् (१८) n. An unrighteous act, an evil deed.
- अव्रह्मण्य (४५, ३४) adj. Hostile to Brāhmanism.
- अभिसंयुज् (६६) 7, A. To fight.
- अरण (५७, ७२) adj. Unassailable.
- आत्मचक्र (३४) n. One's own people.
- कच्चिद् (८६) Ind. A participle expressing blessing.
- कुयशस् (७४) adj. Of bad reputation ; of ill fame.
- गण (२०) m. A section of the Jain community ;
compare गणधर ।
- गनिष्ठ (८०) adj. Very thick ; very dense.
- जनमार (११२) m. Human deaths ; mortality.
- जनाराम (१६) m. A public park.
- दण्ड (८२) An army.
- दुष्ट (२३) adj. sullied ; cruel.
- धनुर्धर (८०) adj. Armed with a bow.
- धर्मवादिन् (१६) adj. Talking religion.
- धार्मिक विजय (२०) m. Religious conquest.
- पाषण्ड (१००) n. A heretic.
- वर्णाधोवस्थित (६५) adj. (People) below the four castes.
- विक्रान्त (२३) n. Valour, ^{or} bravery.
- विप्रकृत (७) n. An outrage.
- संसिद्ध्यर्थ (२६) adj. Whose object is fully accomplished,
victorious.
- स्फीत (४६) pp. Increased ; extended.
- हित (२४) m. A causeway.

APPENDIX 6.

INDEX OF NAMES GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL.

अग्निमित्र ४८ ।	पुष्पपुर २४ ।
अम्लाट ५८, ६२, ६५ ।	पुष्पाह्वय १२ ।
एदय ८ ।	पुष्पमित्र ४३ ।
ओद्रक ५० ।	मगध ३६ ।
कलिङ्ग ७६ ।	मद्र ४३ ।
कालिङ्ग ७७ ।	मध्यदेश ३२ ।
कुसुमाह्वय २३ ।	माथुर २१ ।
कृष्ण २ ।	यवन २३, २७, ३५, ४२ ।
गङ्गा १० ।	वसुदेव २ ।
गोपाल ६७, ६८ ।	वसुमित्र ५० ।
जनमेजय ४ ।	शक ५१, ५२, ५५, ५७, ७६, ७८, ८१, ८४ ।
पञ्चाल २२ ।	शर्विल ७२ ।
पाटलिपुत्र २८ ।	शाकल २२, ३६ ।
पाटलिपुत्रक १२ ।	शात ७७, ८२ ।
पारिक्षित ५ ।	शालिशूक १७ ।
पुष्पक ६८, ७० ।	शिशुनाग ८ ।
पुष्पनामन ५६, ८५ ।	संप्रति २० ।

APPENDIX 7.

THE MAURYAS, THE SUNGAS AND THE KANVAS.

The Maurya Dynasty.

1. Chandraguta	...	24	years.	} Sovereign of the undivided Mauryan Empire.
2. Bindusāra	...	25	"	
3. Aśoka	...	37	"	
4. Kuṇāla	...	8	"	
Bandhupālita	...	8	"	} Probably officiating rulers of Kalinga.
Indrapālita	...	10	"	
Dasona	...	7	"	
5. Daśaratha	...	8	"	} Kings of the Eastern Mauryan Empire.
6. Śālīśūka	...	13	"	
7. Devadharman	...	7	"	
8. Śatadhanvan	...	8	"	
9. Br̥hadratha	...	7	"	} Kings of the Western Mauryan Empire.
Samprati	...	9	"	
Br̥haspati				
Vṛṣasena				
Puṣyadharman				
Puṣyamitra				} Officiating rulers of the countries on the Indus.
Subhagasena B. C. 206 circa				
Virasena, grandson of— Samprati.				

The Śunga Dynasty.

1. Puṣyamitra	...	...	37	years.
2. Agnimitra	...	...	8	"
3. Sujyeṣṭha	...	...	7	"
4. Vasumitra	...	...	10	"
5. Odraka	...	...	7	"
6. Pulindraka	...	...	3	"
7. Ghoṣa	...	...	3	"
8. Vajramitra	...	...	7 or 9	"
9. Bhāgabhadra	...	...	32	"
10. Devabhūti	...	...	10	"

The figure for the length of the reign of Bhāgabhadra seems to include the years of his reigns as heir-apparent prince which I take to be five or seven. Reducing the sum of the figures taken from the Purāṇas by these five or seven years, we come to the purāṇic total of 118 years for the dynasty.

The Kāṇva Dynasty.

		Matsya.	Brahmānda	Vāyu.	Correct figures.
1		2	3	4	5
1. Vasudeva	...	9	5	9	5
2. Bhūmimitra	...	14	24	24	24
3. Nārāyaṇa	...	12	12	12	12
(Śaka rule, 10 years)					
4. Suśarman	...	10	4	10	4

The Śaka rule which intervened, lasted for ten years. The sum of the length of the reigns of the first three Śaka kings is four and of the other six. I suspect these two to have been mixed up with the figures for the first and the last Kāṇva king respectively in the Vāyupurāṇa, which have raised the total to 55, here given. The Matsyapurāṇa appears to have committed the same mistake, but has given the correct total by reducing the length of Bhūmimitra's reign by ten years.

APPENDIX 8.

Events in the life of Puṣyamitra, Chronologically arranged,

B. C. 213.—Birth of Puṣyamitra.

B.C. 190.—Birth of Agnimitra, his son.

B. C. 185.—Puṣyamitra slew Bṛhadratha, the last Maurya King, of the Eastern Empire, and became king. About this time his namesake of the Maurya family came to the throne of the Western Mauryan Empire.

B. C. 185.—The Śuṅga Puṣyamitra wrests the Doab from his Mauryan namesake.

B. C. 176.—Demetrius attacks Pāṭaliputra, suffers a defeat and turns back.

B. C. 175-162.—War between Demetrius and Eukretides in Bactria.)

(B. C. 160.—Death of Demetrius. About this time Eukretides also dies.)

B. C. 175.—Puṣyamitra performs the first horse sacrifice.

B. C. 173.—Khāravela comes to the throne in the Kalinga country.

B. C. 165.—His first invasion on Magadha.

B. C. 164.—His second invasion of the states of Northern India.

B. C. 161.—He invades Magadha a second time. Puṣyamitra acknowledges his supremacy.

B. C. 159.—Death of Khāravela. The Śuṅga king slew Puṣyamitra, the Maurya king of Malwa and annexed the province. The minister of the Maurya king taken prisoner.

B. C. 157.—Invasion of India by Menander. Ayodhyā and Madhyamikā besieged by the Yavanas. Menander surprised in his camp on the bank of the Ganges in Magadha by Puṣyamitra. His (i.e. Menander's) defeat and death on the battle field.

B. C. 156.—Puṣyamitra's second horse sacrifice began. The sacrificial horse seized by a descendant of Eukretides on the bank of the Indus. Prince Vasumitra defeated him and recovered the horse. King Agnimitra conquered Vidarbha.

B. C. 155.—The second horse sacrifice completed.

B. C. 152.—Death of Puṣyamitra in the war for a Greek princess demanded in marriage with Prince Vasumitra. Agnimitra brought the war to a successful issue and ascended the throne of his father.

APPENDIX 9.

RECOVERY OF THE MAHABHASYA.

Bhartr̥hari, in the treatise, called Vākya-pādiya, states at the end of the second chapter how Pāṇini's school of grammar gained prevalence in India. He was a pupil of Vasurāta who was in turn a pupil of Chandragomin or Chandrāchārya, author of Chāndra-vyākaraṇa on which the Buddhist pupil composed a *vr̥tti* or gloss. Bhartr̥hari is said to have written a commentary called *Dīpikā* on the Mahābhāṣya. I subjoin the verses referred to—

प्रायेण संक्षेपरुचीनल्पविद्यापरिग्रहान् ।
 संप्राप्य वैयाकरणान् संग्रहेऽस्तमुपागते ॥४८४॥
 कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।
 सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने ॥४८५॥
 अलब्धगाधे गाम्भीर्यादुत्तान इव सौष्टवात् ।
 तस्मिन्नकृतबुद्धीनां नैवावास्थित निश्चयः ॥४८६॥
 वैजिसौभवहयं चैः शुष्कतर्कानुसारिभिः ।
 आर्षे विस्त्राविते ग्रन्थे संग्रहप्रतिष्ठाञ्चकौ ॥४८७॥
 यः पतञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणगमः ।
 काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः ॥४८८॥
 पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः ।
 स नोतो बहुशास्त्रत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥४८९॥
 न्यायप्रस्थानमार्गीस्तानभ्यस्य स्वं च दर्शनम् ।
 प्रणीतो गुरुणास्माकमयमागमसंग्रहः ॥४९०॥

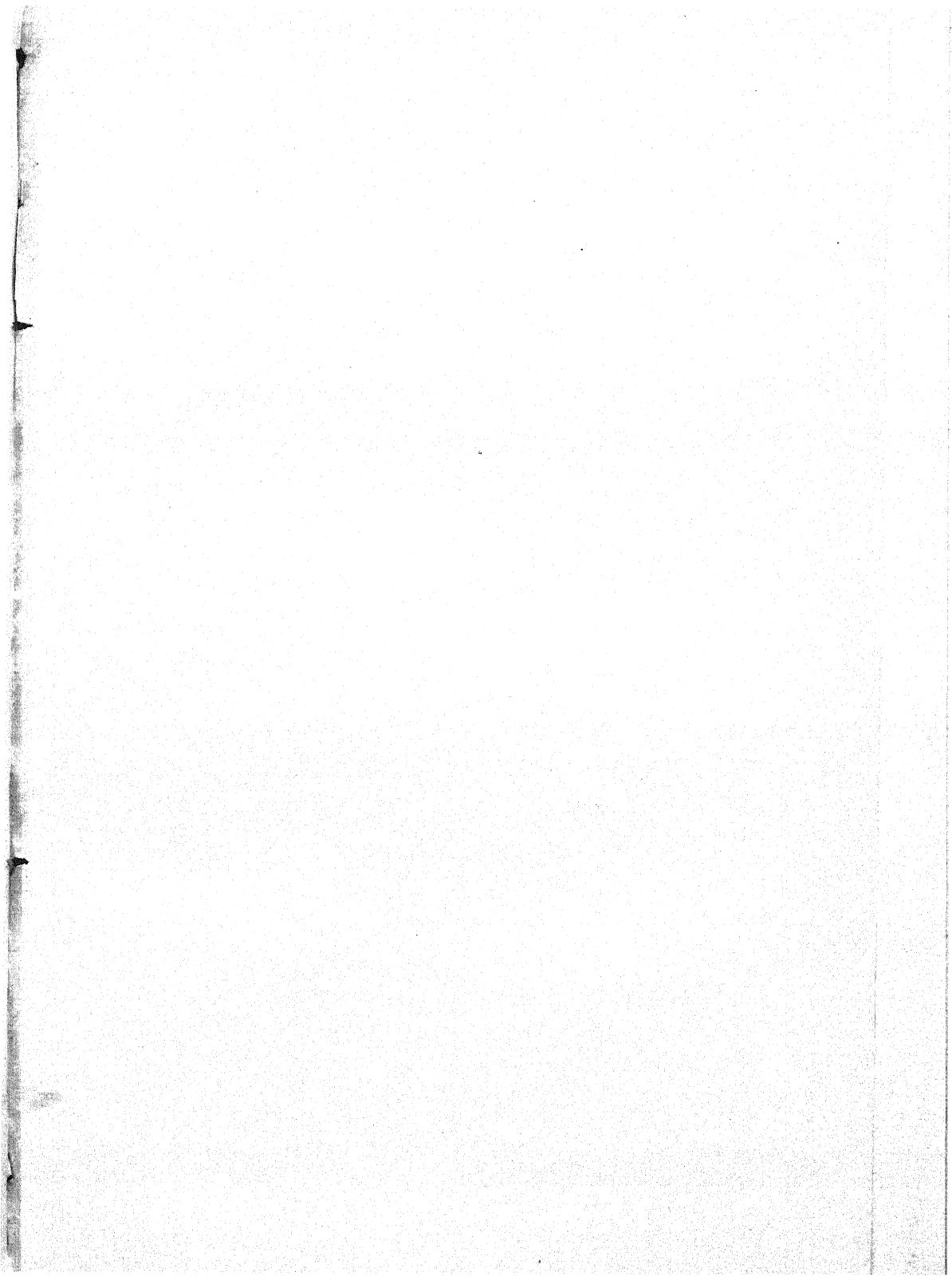
Puṇyārāja commenting on these verses, throws further light on them. I give below the Kārikās or memorial verses from his commentary .. Vākya-pādi.

अवतारोऽपि भाष्यस्य संग्रहेऽस्तमुपागते ।
 निबन्धहेतौ शास्त्रस्य टीकाकारिण कीर्तितः ॥५१॥

संग्रहार्थाद्यनुगुणरूपत्वं चोपपादितम् ।
 विस्मावनमथैतस्य संग्रहप्रतिपक्षतः ॥५२॥
 कृतमाचार्यदैवज्ञैरावेशविवशैस्ततः ।
 भ्रष्टस्यान्नायसारस्य वैयाकरणगामिनः ॥५३॥
 मूलभूतमथावाप्य पर्वतादागमं स्वयम् ।
 आचार्यवसुरातेन न्यायमार्गान् विचिन्त्य सः
 प्रणीतो विधिवच्चायं मम व्याकरणागमः ।
 मयापि गुरुनिर्दिष्टाद् भाष्यान्नायाविलुप्तये ।
 काण्डत्रयक्रमेणाद्यं निबन्धः परिकीर्तितः ।

1 तीर्थानि is explained by Punyarāja in this commentary by आगमविशेषाः ।

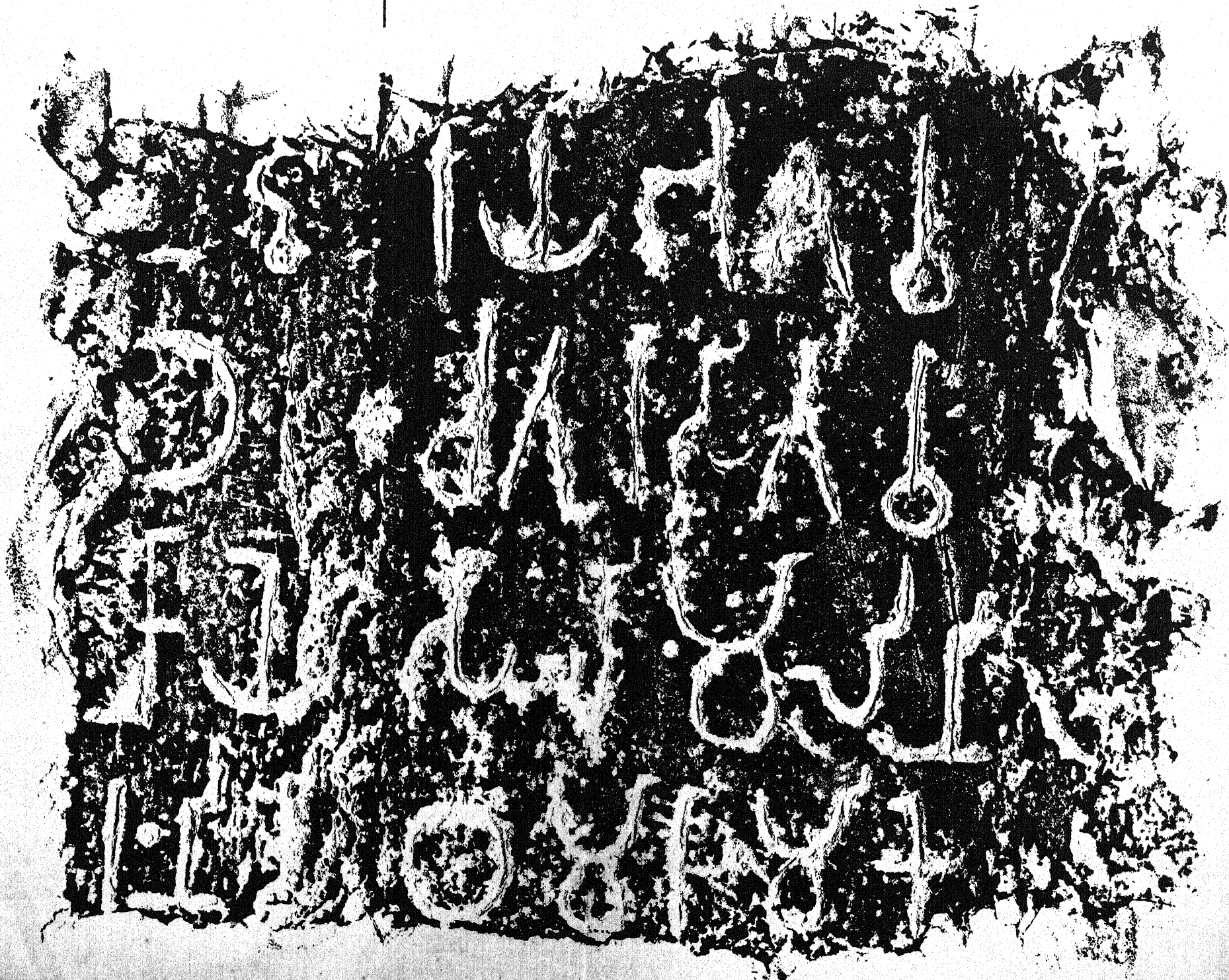
2 Punyarāja takes Parvata to be a part of Trilinga which is itself a part of Triakūta (in Southern India).



Left Sec.

Middle Sec.

Right Sec.



III.—An important Brahmi Inscription. Barli Stone (with plate).

By K. P. Jayaswal.

Though fragmentary, the inscription which we are publishing herewith, will rank as one of the important lithic records of Northern India. It is in Brāhmī, and I have no doubt that it is pre-Aśokan.

It was discovered by Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaurī Śāṅkara Hirāchand Ojha, the veteran scholar of Rajputana, who has kept up the high tradition of Hindu scholarship established by Dr. Bhaudaji and Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indrajī. I give the account of the discovery which the Mahāmahopādhyāya has kindly furnished to me in a letter dated the 15th February, 1930. In 1910, while the Panditji was touring in the district of Ajmere he noticed a white stone at a temple or *maṇḍa* of Bhairūji (Bhairava) which stands on a field, about a mile from village Barlī. The stone had been used for crushing tobacco by the temple-priest (*dhōpā*). When the stone was turned up, Brāhmī letters were found on the other side. The stone is a part of a hexagonal pillar, which was split in twain, and one side of the split portion is now the relic. One section is yet complete (we shall call it the middle one)—eight inches in width, the left one is fragmentary—3½ inches in width, and the right section has a small remnant—2 inches in width giving fragments of one letter only in each line. I am indicating these sections on the plate, following the pencil marks made by the Mahāmahopādhyāya himself. The learned scholar, as curator of the Rajputana Museum, brought the stone to the Museum at Ajmere, where it has found its home.

I edit the inscription from four estampages very kindly sent to me by the Mahāmahopādhyāya.

The inscribed space is 13" × 10½". The letters are well incised, and only two letters have become blurred, the rest being still perfect. There are four lines which run on over the three sections.

Reading.

Line.	Left.	Middle.	Right.
(1)	Vi	rāya Bhagava	[t]...
(2)	80[4]	chaturāsiti va	[s]...
(3)	ñāye	Sāli Mālīni	[y ?]
(4)	rañ ni[v]i	ṭha Mājhimike	[y ?]

The dash-stroke with which the present first line begins gives an impression that probably the record began there. The first letter is a *vakāra*, but it is much smaller than the other letters. The loop on the top, evidently a vowel-mark, is peculiar. I take it as a left-handed *i*-mark as in *ṭi* at Kālsī (Bühler's Table II., 43. 1.). The view of Mahāmahopādhyāya G. H. Ojha, communicated in his letter, is that we might regard it an *i*-mark, as a long *i*-mark is hitherto unknown in Aśoka's time. Whether we read *vi* or *vī*, we get, with the succeeding undoubted letters, *v[ī]rāya Bhaavga[e]*: 'To the Lord (Mahā-) Vīra (the Jaina Tīrthāṅkara)'.

The second line gives '*in the year 84: eighty-four*'. The importance of the inscription lies in this line. This seems to refer to an era. Even if the first akṣara is not *Vi*, but another akṣara, still the presence of an era in the period of the script will be important enough. The letters are of the older variety of the Aśoka letters, and are comparable with the Sohgaurā and Piprawā scripts. I regard the letters pre-Aśokan. The only known era of the early Brāhmī period is that of King Nanda, counted from 458 B.C. (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 1927, p. 237 ff.). Taking it as the basis, the record will refer to 374 B. C. or 373 B. C.

Sāli-Mālīni in line 3 seems to be a proper name, and probably the name of the donor, a lady. The fourth line seems to mention the foundation of the object of the inscription, at or in *Mājhimike* or *Mādhyamika*, [cf. *Mādhyamikā* (Rajputana) of later records]. It is also possible that the place-name refers to the donor, as we do not know the succeeding letters,

J. B. O. R. S.

IV.—Hindol Plate of Subhakara Deva.

By Pandit Binayak Misra, Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Indian Vernaculars, Calcutta University.

This plate has been preserved in the palace of the Ruling Chief of the Hindol State since long. Raja Bahadur Sri N. K. Singh, F.R.S.A., the ruling chief of the Hindol State, invited me to examine this plate. It was reported that a peasant, while ploughing the land at Chitalpur, one of the large villages in the State, discovered it and presented to the father of Raja Bahadur some years ago.

The Hindol State is in the interior of the Feudatory States of Orissa, and situates on the north bank of the river Mahanadi. Chitalpur, about 14 miles from the headquarters of the state, is of much antiquity. The tradition current in the state, discloses that the founder of the present ruling family of Hindol, a scion of the Ganga dynasty of Kimedya in Ganjam, established his rule over the State after removing a non-aryan chief who used to reside at Chitalpur. The present plate also corroborates the fact that at the time of execution of the grant, a non-aryan chief was exercising his power over the region which included the village granted by this record. Again a silted up ditch surrounding the village indicates the ancient fortification of the place.

The charter consists of a single copper plate measuring $15\frac{1}{4}'' \times 12\frac{1}{4}''$. A seal containing the legend Śrī Subhākara Deva, is attached to the left side of the plate, and represents in relief a couchant bull facing to the left and above this there are a crescent and a conch. The seal with raised edge is circular in shape and its diameter is $2\frac{1}{4}''$.

The inscription contains altogether 41 lines, 26 on the obverse and 15 on the reverse. The letters are all uniform and each measures .4". In form they are fully similar to the letters used in Tribhuvana Mahādevī's plate, edited by Mahāmaho-

pādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstrī in Volume II of this Journal. But the time of Tribhuvana Mahādevī's grant has not been ascertained and as such the comparison is not profitable. I should, therefore, mention here that e-kāra shown on the left corner of the upper part of the letter is worth noticing in the present grant. The difference between 'ga' and 'śa' is slight. The same remark is also applicable to 'bha' and 'ha'. The letter 'ṭa' in Guhadevapāṭaka in line 2, is like an arch. All these forms may be compared with those used in the plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja (E. I. Vol. VI, pp. 143-46) and in the Neulpur grant (Ibid. Vol. XV pp. 1-9). The former definitely belongs to the 7th century A. C. and the latter has been assigned to the 8th century A. C. by the distinguished epigraphist Mr. R. D. Banerji, the editor of the same. But some later forms of the characters, appear in the present plate, which do not lead us to assign it to the time of Neulpur grant. However, as the later stages of the forms discussed above are found in the plates of Daṇḍī Mahādevī (Ibid. Vol. pp. 133-142) and in the charters of Yayāti Mahāśiva Gupta, (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. II), the present plate may be assigned to the 9th century A. C.

The charter is written in the Sanskrit language and the style is ornate. As regards orthography it calls for a general remark that 'va' has been used for 'ba' throughout the record. The errors, such as 'Śaivāchā patasvīnām' in line 23 for 'Śaivāchāra tapasvīnām', 'dānapataih' in the same line for 'dānapātraih' and 'supata' in line 2 for 'supattra', are very few. The record on the whole is wellwritten and in good preservation.

This charter records the grant of village NODDILLO in KANKAVIRĀ district, which was made to VAIDYANĀTHA BHATṬĀRAKA (i. e. a Śaivaite deity) at the request of PULINDARĀJA in whose State the deity had been enshrined. Nodḍilo is distinctly identical with the village Naṇḍelo now lying in the Hindol State, which is a few miles from Chitalpur. Again Kāṅkavirā may be identified with the present village

Karāvīrā, not far from Nandelo. I should mention here that even now a Śaivaite deity exists in Nandelo and the neighbouring village which probably formed a part of Nandelo in ancient times, has been allotted for his worship.

The donor was Śubhākara Deva, son of Śāntikara and grandson of Paramasaugata Śrī Śubhākara. His mother's name was Tribhuvana Mahādevi born of Nāga dynasty. Again the charter discloses that donor's grandfather was preceded by Kamalākara, Bhāskara and Lakṣmīkara who were Bhaumānukāya (L 3). The Neulpur grant of Śubhākara Deva, who should not be confounded with the present donor, states that the donor of that grant belonged to Bhauma dynasty. Again the Chaurāsi grant of Śivakara Deva (above Vol. XIV. pp. 292-306) describes that the dynasty to which its donor belonged had the title "Bhaumya". These references lead me to hold that the expression "Bhaumānukāya" alludes to Bhauma dynasty. No such dynasty called Bhauma has hitherto been found in the epigraphic records discovered in India excluding Orissa. But we find in the Purāṇas that one Guha protected the peoples, Kalingas, Māhiṣyas and Māhendra Bhaumas (dynasties of Kali age by Pargiter). In the Purāṇas this Guha has not been said to be the off-shoot of any āryan family. I, therefore, suggest that the origin of the Bhauma dynasty may be traced to Māhendra Bhauma of the Purāṇas. This tribe most probably inhabited the hilly tracts of Orissa.

I have stated already that the characters of this plate fully resemble those of Tribhuvana Mahādevi's plate. I shall also show below that this Tribhuvana Mahādevi was not much removed in date from the present donor. Consequently it can be maintained that this Tribhuvana Mahādevi is identical with Tribhuvana Mahādevi, mother of the present donor. In that case, Lalitahāra, husband of former Tribhuvana Mahādevi may be taken for Śāntikara husband of latter Tribhuvana Mahādevi. The adjective 'Apūrva-lālita-śrī' occurring before the name of Śāntikara of the present grant is perhaps an allusion to his name Lalitahāra. It was, perhaps, a custom in this family

that all kings bore fresh names after their accession to the throne and these names often had 'kara' suffix, which subsequently became an appellation of the family as found in Tribhuvana Mahādevī's plate.

I now give below the geneological tables available from the different grants of this family, in order to ascertain the chronology of the kings.

Neulpur Grant..... Table no. 1.

Paramopāsaka Śrī Kṣemāṅkara alias Nṛgātapa.

Paramatathāgata Śrī Śivaṅkara

Paramasaugata Śrī Śubhākara Deva.

Chaurāsi Grant..... Table no. 2.

Śrī Śivaṅkara (Queen Jayāvalī Devī)

Śrī Śubhākara (Queen Mādhavī Devī)

Śrī Śivakara

Hindol plate..... Table no. 3.

Kamalākara

Bhāskara

Lakṣmīkara

Paramasaugata Śrī Śubhākara

Śāntikara (Queen Tribhuvana Mahādevī)

Śubhākara

Daṇḍī Mahādevī's plate..... Table no. 4.

Ummata Simha

Loluhāra

Kusumahāra

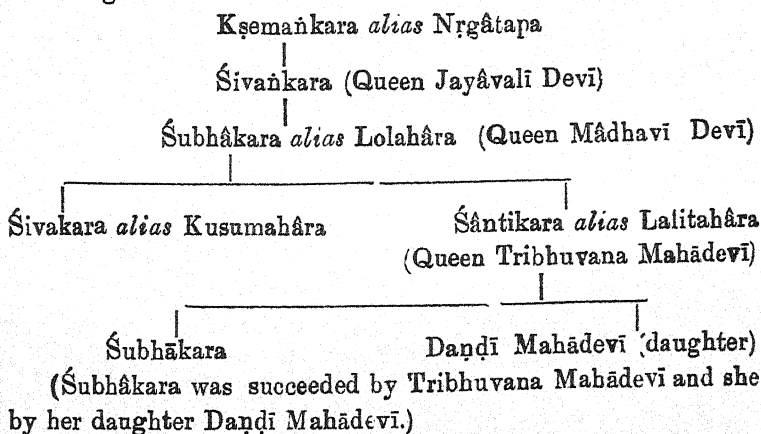
Lalitahāra

Śāntikara

Śubhākara

It is mentioned in Daṇḍi Mahādevī's plate that after the death of Śubhākara, son of Lalitahāra, a queen ascended the throne, who was succeeded by her daughter Daṇḍi Mahādevī. Tribhuvana Mahādevī, queen of Lalitahāra, states in her plate that in absence of male heir, she was prevailed upon by subordinate kings to ascend the throne. It is now evident that the queen who was succeeded by her daughter for want of male heir to the throne as disclosed by Daṇḍi Mahādevī's plates, was not other than Tribhuvana Mahādevī.

We find two kings under the name Śrī Śubhākara having the same title 'Paramasaugata,' one in table no. 1 and other in table no. 3. I hold, both were one and the same person. The first king of table no. 2, may be equated with the second king of table no. 1, for both bear one and the same name Śrī Śivaṅkara and such name is not found in any other table. In that case, the second king Śubhākara of table no. 2, is not other than Śrī Śubhākara, the third king of table no. 1, who has been identified with the first king of table no. 3. Now Śrī Śivaṅkara, the third king of table no. 2, may be taken for Kusumahāra of table no. 4. Thus all the kings may be placed in the following chronological order.



As regards Śāntikara shown in table no. 4, I should mention here that the eldest son of Lalitahāra, cannot be supposed to be Śāntikara for, his father himself took the title Śāntikara as

proved above. Again Śubhākara of the same table was not the younger brother but was the son of Śāntikara. I had examined the original Banpur plate of Daṇḍī Mahādevī and found that the correct reading on the point in question is 'abhuttanuja' in place of 'abhudanuja'. Thus I can, at present, say nothing about Śāntikara of table no. 4. Let me now proceed to discuss other facts disclosed by the present grant.

The donor of this grant had sovereignty over northern Tosala which included the village Noḍḍolo or present Naṇḍelo on the north bank of the river Mahānadi. The Neulpur grant discloses that its donor was also overlord of northern Tosala which included the village Salanapura. This Salanapura is distinctly identical with Solnapura on the north bank of the river Vaitaraṇī, which is about five miles from Jajpur. Again the villages mentioned in the Chaurāsī grant have been identified by its editor in the Puri district. These villages are said in that plate, to have been included in southern Tosala. Besides, the villages granted by Daṇḍī Mahādevī in Kōṅgoda maṇḍala which was included in southern Tosala, have been identified by me in the Ganjam district (*vide* J. B. and O. R. S. December, 1926). It is now evident that the region extending from Mahānadi towards north, was formerly known as northern Tosala, while the tracts lying to the south of Mahānadi, formed southern Tosala. The title 'Utkalendra' of Śubhākara mentioned in Chaurāsī grant leads me to assert that these two Tosalas were sub-provinces of Utkala.

The present grant is said to have been issued from Guhadeva Pāṭaka. The identification of this place is highly important. We know that all the plates of Daṇḍī Mahādevī were issued from Guheśvara Pāṭaka. The Chaurāsī grant was also issued from Guhadevī Pāṭika. But we are informed that Neulpur grant and Tribhuvana Mahādevī's grant were issued from Śubhadeva Pāṭaka and Śubheśvara Pāṭaka, respectively. I had carefully examined the estampage prints of these two plates and found that they are to be correctly read as Guhadeva Pāṭaka and Guheśvara Pāṭaka.

Guhadeva Pāṭaka and Guheśvara Pāṭaka both may be taken as one and the same place which probably took its name after the king Guha of the Purāṇas as mentioned above.

The Oriya Mahābhārata by Sārālā Dāsa of the 15th century, A. C. states that Viṣṇukara, founder of the Kara family, with the aid of Bhīma, brother of Yudhiṣṭhira, established his rule over a holy land called Śivapura. This Śivapura is to be identified with Śivadāsapura lying in the vicinity of Virajā temple in Jajpur where the ruins of a palace is now traceable. Again according to the version of Virajā-Māhātmya, some shrines in Jajpur bear the names, Laliteśvara, Kusumeśvara and Daṇḍīśvara. These shrines probably took their names after Lalitahāra, Kusumahāra and Daṇḍī Mahādevī who flourished in the Kara family. Moreover, if from the expression "Mandākīnī kūlavāsakāt prāpta pañcha mahāśavda" (the title 'pañcha mahāśavda' obtained from one residing on the bank of Mandākīnī) we can assert that Jaya Śimha got the recognition of his lordship over Goṇḍamaṇḍala from an overlord, who used to reside on the bank of Mandākīnī (above vol. II), then it can be said that the residence of that overlord was at Jajpur, for a stream called Mandākīnī is now flowing there. Besides, the accounts of Hiuen Tsiang who reached the capital of Orissa after proceeding 700 li or 130 miles from Tamluk (life of Hiuen Tsiang by Samuel Beal), is in support of the supposition that Jajpur which is about 120 miles from Tamluk, was then the capital of Orissa.

The description given in the Tribhuvana Mahādevī's plate also indicates that Guheśvara Pāṭaka whence the plate was issued, was the capital of the donor's kingdom. As all the plates of Kara family were issued from one place, it can be maintained that that place was their permanent capital. In this case, Guheśvara Pāṭaka of the plates of Kara family can be identified with Godhaneśvarapatna which now forms a part of Jajpur town.

Another startling fact has been revealed by this plate. It states in line 5 on the reverse that the donor had a Lion-embell

(*simhadhvaja*). We find the mention of Ummata Kesari in Tribhuvana Mahadevi's plate and of Ummata Simha in Dandi Mahadevi's plates. It can be held now that this '*Simhadhvaja*' also refers to the Kesari title of the donor. Consequently the Bhauma or Kara dynasty is identical with the Kesari dynasty of the temple chronicle of Puri. It can be said now that Dr. Sylvan Levy is quite right in his assumption that Subhākara Kesarī (one who does what is pure, Lion) of Orissa, who presented the *Avatamsaka*, a Buddhist work, to the Emperor of China, belonged to this Bhauma dynasty (E. I. Vol. XV), since such name having Kesarī title has been found now.

The date is given in line 24. The figures of an unspecified era are represented by symbols. The first symbol 'lu' is similarly found in Tribhuvana Mahadevi's plate as well as in Dandi Mahadevi's plates. Dr. Keilhorn, editor of the latter, has correctly read it 100. It is now evident that Subhākara of this plate, Tribhuvana Mahadevi and Dandi Mahadevi flourished in the same century.

I am now inclined to accept Dr. Keilhorn's reading of the second symbol as correct. If it be taken as 80, then the second numerical symbol 'CU' of Tribhuvana Mahadevi's plate can be read with the help of Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā by Gourīśāṅkara Hirachand Ojha (*vide* Plate LXXIII, 2nd Table) as 60. The other sign occurring after 'CU' in the same plate, appears to me as a faint figure 1. Thus the year of Tribhuvana Mahadevi's plate is 161 instead of 35 read by its editor. Now the second symbol of the present plate, which is similarly found in above mentioned work (*vide Ibid*) may be read as 50. In that case the year is 150. Now I am of opinion that the date of Neulpur grant is in need of correction. I have found after scrutinising the facsimile print that the numerical symbol of the day of the month, is reasonably 13 (10,) instead of 23 (20,3). Again the sign occurring after 'Samba' in the same plate, is probably the earlier stage of 80 of Dandi Mahadevi's plate. After this the second symbol appears to me as 4. If it be so, we can read 84 (80,4) instead of only 8 read by the editor.

I am often tempted to say that all these years belonged to Harṣa era, since Śīladitya Harṣavarddhana fully established his supremacy over Orissa and introduced Mahāyān doctrine of Buddhism there (The Life Of Hiuen Tsiang). If it be tenable, the year 150 of the present plate will correspond to 756-57 A.C.

I edit the text from the original.

Text.

Line 1.—Om svasti sravanmadajala dviradendravṇda
raṅgatturaṅgama mahormmi hṛtāvakāsāt | ambbonidheriva ji—

Line 2.—tākhila rājaloka śubhrātapatra prthupena vitāna
gaurāt || Guhadeva Pātakāvāsita Jayaskandhāvārāt |

Line 3.—Bhaumānukāya Kamalākara-Bhāskareṣu Lakṣmī-
karādiṣu nṛpeṣu divaṃ gateṣu | ātithya satkṛti sasambhrama.

Line 4.—devarāja śrīmānnijāsane niveśana lāliteṣu ||
tadānvaye jītarātirabhūt-Paramasaugata trailokya vilasatkī—

Line 5.—ṛiti nṛpatiḥ Śrī Śubhākaraḥ || prajāpatiḥ sattvapi
satyabhāṣā samanvitoyam parameśvaropi | śruto vi —

Line 6.—śādī na kadāchideva kṣatāridīptiḥ puruṣottamopi ||
tasyātmajastriḍivarāja iva prasūto durvāra vai—

Line 7.—ri vala nirddalanaikavīrah | pūrvvātīsyapi dhiṣaṇā-
tula lālita śrī khyāto jagati Sāntikarah kṣītīsa—

Line 8.—h || tyāgeṣu yasya nṛpateratulo bhūveṣu satkīrttiteṣu
bhuvane draviṇādhipasya | niḥsamsayaḥ dhanadaḥ ityabhidhā-
name—

Line 9.—tadadyāpi dūramupasarjjanatāmupeti || tasya tana-
yastatpādānudyātāḥ śrīmānnāgodbhava kula lālāma bhavā-
yāmma—

Line 10.—bhādevyām Śrī Tribhuvana Mahādevyām-
avāptajanmā sajjana saroja vikāsa vāsarapatiḥ satyadhano
nikhilāgamā—

Line 11.—ntasāra prajñā sambhārah prachura bhuja vala
bhaya vikala vairi vala prapati lālita charaṇa kamalaḥ saka—

Line 12.—la kāla prastuta draviṇa dāna janita nikhila
jana pramoda vikāsita kamalopyatīvrakarah karabhīm-gata du—

Line 13.—rmāda mahīpālopyapanīta vali vilāsaḥ protphu-
lla kalpa pādapa iva kalikālāpamukta viṣayo dugdhoda—

Line 14.—dhirivâhimakara guru pratâpaḥ paramabhāṭṭāraka
Mahārājādhirāja parameśvara Śrī Śubhākara Deva kuśalī || U—

Line 15.—ttara Toṣalyāmvarttamāna bhaviṣyan-Mahāsā-
manta Mahārāja Rājaputrāntaraṅga Kumārāmātyoparika
Viṣayapati—

Line 16.—tadāyuktaka Daṇḍapāsika Sthānāntarikānanyāpi
rājaprasādina-śchāṭabhaṭavallabha jātiyān-Kāṅkavirā Viṣayepi.

Line 17.—mahā mahattara vrhadbhogī pusta(ka) pāla
Kutakalāsādyadhikaraṇā(n) yathārham-mānayaṭi vodhayati
samājñāpayati vidita—

Line 18.—mastu bhavatā etadviṣaya samvandha Noḍḍilo
grāmah soparikara soddeśaḥ satantuvāya gokula sāuṇḍhikādi
prakṛti—

Line 19.—ka sakheṭa ghāṭṭa nadītīra sthānādi gulmakah
sarvva pīḍā varjjito lekhanīpraveśatayā bhūmividrāpidhāna
nyāyairna cha—

Line 20.—ndrārka kṣītisamakāla mātāpitrorātmanaḥ sarvva
sarvva (nā) ſicha puṇyābhivṛddhaye Pulindarāja vijñāptyā Yavā
gulopāṭikā—

Line 21.—yām satkārita Pulindeśvarāyatane pratiṣṭhāpitasya
bhagavato Vaidyanātha Bhāṭṭārakasya grāmārdhena satata
supata (ttara) gandha puṣpa—

Line 22.—dīpa dhūpa nivedya vali charu pūjādi pravarttanā-
vam pādāmūlasya grāsāchhāda parikalpanāvam khaṇḍasphuti-
tādyabhisamśkā—

Line 23.—rāvam-aparārdhena śaivāchā (ra) patatapavīnām
satra kaupīnotarī sāṅga glāna bhaiṣajyāvam dānapātaiḥ (traih)
pratyaham taṇḍulodakaiḥ śaḍbhi ?

Line 24.—birānya paṇa chatuṣṭayena varttanāvañchāsmābhis-
tāmra śāsanīkrītyākṣaya nīvidharmmeṇākaratvena pratipādita-
tadeṣām utsam—

Line 25.—bhṛti dharmma gauravād-bhavadbhiḥ paripālaniyā
Sainvat 100,50 Śrāvāṇa śudi 7 Uktāṅcha dharmma śāstre vahu-
bhirvasudhā dattā rāja—

Line 26.—bhiḥ Sagarādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-
tasya tasya tadā phalam || mābhūdphalāsāṅkā vaḥ paradatteti
pārthivāḥ svadānā,

Reverse.

Line 27.—tphalamānantyamparadattānupā'anam l svadat-
tāmparadattānvā yo haret vasundharām l sē viṣṭhāyām
kr̥mirbhūtvā pitrbhiḥ saha pachya—

Line 28.—te || vahunāntu kimuktena samkṣiptamidamu-
chyate l svalpamāyuschalābhogā dharmmaloka dvayam kṣamah ||
iti kamala dalām vū—

Line 29.—vindu lolam śriyamanuchintya manuṣya jīvitañcha l
akhilamidamudāhṛtañcha vudhvā nahi puruṣaiḥ parakīrttayo
vilopyāḥ ||

Line 30.—yāvachchardrārdhdhamaule śirasi śasikalā kaumu-
dīmātanoti Lakṣmīrvakṣaṣthale vā vasati madhuripo yāvadam-
bhoja ha—

Line 31.—stā l uddhṛtārāti lakṣmī baṭha haraṇa kalā
lālitaḥ savyapānerāstā simha dhvajasya pravarttatu nṛpateḥ
śāsanam tāvade—

Line 32.—tat || dūtako ukta mahākṣa paṭalādhikṣata
vṛhadbhogī l lekhaḥ mahākṣapaṭalikabhogī Haravarah l tāpi-
tampeḍā—

Line 33.—rpala Rāmadevena l utkīrṇnannaṭṭakāra Vijaya-
jīven—Ānandajīvaputtreṇeti || grāmasyāśya śirā kathyate l
pūrvva diśi—

Line 34.—pūrvvottarakoṇe dhānyamāda joṭarddha propta
śilāyāḥ samārabhya dakṣiṇābhimukham tajjoṭārdhha srotasā
śākhāṭa.

Line 35.—ka viṭapenaika rañchata kaṇād kiñchitpūrvvam
valitvā uśvattham prāpya mṛgajantūnām gattāvantam joṭamut-
tīryya sṛgā—

Line 36.—la joṭārdhha srotasā dūram gatvā pūrvvadakṣiṇa
koṇe vanamandāratala propta śilām yāvat l tato dakṣiṇa diśi
paśchi—

Line 37.—mābhimukham sarpya gatyā śimā joṭikayā vṛha-
dāmṛatakamabhyantari kṛtya propta śilā pañktāpollāmuttara—

Line 38.—tala vaṇa polāṇḍakamabhyantari kṛtya dūram
gatvā dakṣiṇa paśchima koṇe propta śilā yāvat l tataḥ paśchima-
diśyu—

Line 39.—*ttarābhimukhaṁ antarāntarā propta silā pakṣa-
dūraṁ gatvā tendrātaka tala propta silā yāvat l tato uttara
disi pū—*

Line 40.—*rvvābhimukhaṁ Gaṅgeṭi joṭārdha srotasā stokaṁ
gatvā dakṣiṇābhimukhe natameva joṭamuttīryya punah pūrvvā-
bhimukhaṁ—*

Line 41.—*dūraṁ gatvā prathama saṁsṛavita sīmā yāvat ||*

Translation.

Lines 1 and 2.—Om Hail from the victorious camp established at GUHADEVAPĀṬAKA which being made spaceless by the great waves (or rush) caused by numerous big ruttish elephants and sporting horses resembles the ocean and looks brilliant with the mass of white umbrellas of all the subjugated kings, forming, as it were, a canopy.

Lines 3-6.—When the kings, such as KAMALĀKARA, BHĀSKARA and LAKṢMĪKARA who sprang from Bhauma (Mars) and who on account of their performance of hospitality were fondled by the Lord of Gods eager to provide them with a place in His own abode — had departed for heaven, in their family flourished the king Paramasaugata (devout worshipper of Sugata Buddha), Parameśvara ŚRĪ ŚUBHĀKARA — who was the conqueror of enemies — whose fame pervaded the three worlds — who neither was heard of being deserted by his soldiers nor ever suffered defeat by enemy — who was honest and truthful and who was also the best of men.

Lines 6-9.—His son the king ŚĀNTIKARA — who was an unsurpassable warrior in repressing the valour of the invincible enemies— who excelled the former (kings) in intellect— who was famous in the world for his unique loving appearance and who being kind hearted rightly acquired the title ' Niḥsaṁśaya Dhanadah ' (unhesitating giver of wealth) by uncomparable charitable gifts praised in the heaven and even now has kept at a distance Kuvera (giver of wealth) — was born like a king of heaven.

Lines 9-14.—His son ŚUBHĀKARA—who meditates on his (father's) feet — who is born to queen Tribhuvana Mahādevī,

daughter of the diadem of the Nāga dynasty — who is the lord of day (sun) in causing the lotus of pious men to bloom — who has acquired the profound knowledge of the internal essence of all the Āgamas — whose lotus feet are kissed by the heads of enemies, bowed down in depression of fear caused by the adequate force of his arms — who is always ready, like sun, to cause by the gift of wealth the lotus of delight of every person to bloom and still is not an oppressor in taxation, unlike the glowing heat of the sun — who has made arrogant kings to be afraid of his arms and deprived them of luxury from tribute — who resembles the full blossomed wishing tree (which grants whatever the suitor wants) — who being delivered of the bad influences of the Kali age, though resembles the ocean of milk, but still produces the glowing heat of power and who has assumed the titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Maharājādhirāja (Lord of Sovereigns) and Parameśvara—duly honours and intimates ;

Lines 15-17.—All present and future Mahāsāmantas (great feudatories), Mahārājas (over-lords), Rājaputras (princes), Āntaraṅgas (King's relations), Kumāras (Younger sons of King), Amātyas (Ministers), Uparikas, Viṣayapatis (Lords of District) and their employees, Daṇḍapāsikas (village chaukidars or now called Daṇḍuāsī), Sthānāntarikas, and others, such as 'chāṭa bhaṭṭa' class living on royal bounties in northern Toṣala, and Bhogis, Pustakapālas (record keepers) and Kutakolas including Karāṇas (clerks) of Kāṅkavirā district :—

Lines 18-24.—Be it known to you that the village NOḌDILO belonging to this district,—with its boundaries and all rights—with weavers, cowherds and all other tenants—with hunting, — with tolls from ferries and landing places — with thickets and so on, free from all imposts in accordance with the maxim that as small quantity of the earth as a point of pen can hold, should not be confiscated—for as long as the sun, moon and earth exist, for the increase of merits of father, mother, self and all others—has been granted by means of copper plate deed and according to the principle of Nivā Dhamma, etc., at the request of Pulindarāja, to Vaidyanātha

bhaṭṭāraka revered (or deified) at Yavāguloṇḍikā and enshrined within the state of Pulindarāja, and half of this village is allotted for continuing of perpetual offering of Bali-charu worship with pure leaves, sandal paste, flowers and aromatic smoke, for maintenance of servants (of the deity) and for repair of dilapidation and other half is allotted for supplying garments, sacrificial materials and medicines in case of sickness to Śaivāite ascetics and for (their) living by rice-water as much as six giving pots can hold which would cost every day 4 'paṇas' of couries (Hiraṇya cannot be taken here as gold coin).

Lines 25-26.—Now out of respect to religion its upkeep is maintainable by you. In the year 100,50, on the 7th day of bright fortnight of the month Śrāvaṇa. It is described in the scriptures. Lands have been given by many, such as Sagara and others; the rewards of these lands belong to whosoever at any time possesses the earth. O Kings! Have no doubt of reward on the ground that it is another's gift.

Lines 26-31.—The maintenance of another's gift has a far greater reward than one's own gift. He, who confiscates the land granted by either himself or by other, becomes a worm in ordure and rot with his fore-fathers. It has been narrated briefly; no need of speaking a good deal. The life and enjoyments are short, but the merits make the best of both worlds. No one should confiscate the gift granted by other than self by fully understanding the above mentioned verses and remembering that the life and wealth of the man are unsteady like the drop of water on the petal of lotus. This gift of the king who possesses the lion-emblem and whose right hand is dexterous in the art of extorting fortune from strong enemies, will continue as long as the part of moon in the foremost of crescent-headed one diffuses the light and Lakṣmī holding lotus in hand sits on the breast of enemy of Madhu.

Lines 32-34.—Dūtakas are mentioned. The writer is Bhogi Harabara, Heated by Pedārpala Rāma Deva and incised by Naṭṭakāra Bijaya Jīva son of Ānanda Jīva. Now the boundaries of the village are described.

Lines 34-41.—On the east the boundary line commences from a rock where there is the land for sowing Dhāna, in the north-east corner and runs towards south along the stream up to the middle of the stream in length where it (stream) produces water-drops by the contact of the branches of trees and thence proceeding a little further to the east reaches a place where an Aśvattha tree stands and then leaving the stream where it is hunted by the deer and other wild animals, runs along Ārgāla stream up to the rock fixed under Vananandāra in the south-east corner; thence on the south runs towards west, keeping the great Amrātaka, tree, within, touching the northern boundary rock of Pañktāpolla and then keeping Vanapolāṇḍaka and Amrātāka within, reaches the rock in the south-west corner; thence on the west runs towards north up to the rock under Tendrātaka in the north-west corner and thence on the north runs towards east along the Gangetic stream and proceeding a little further leaves the stream where it (stream) takes a turn towards south and then runs towards east up to the first mentioned boundary.

V.—Prosemy and Eesemy in Dravidian.

By L. V. Ramaswami Iyer, M.A., B.L., (Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.)

While the history of the phonology and the grammar of a language, generally speaking, sheds light on the formal aspects of the vehicle of speech, the new science of Semasiology, which deals with the contents of meanings of words and their multifarious changes, illustrates, as no other branch¹ of Linguistics can, the varying limits of the thought-horizon of the people speaking a language. What through the course of ages human intelligence has acquired, accumulated and lost in the moral and material domains of action and of thought, is nowhere more clearly reflected than in what Semasiology aims at elucidating, viz., the history of the gains, losses and changes in the meanings of words.

Two of the most prominent changes that Semasiology deals with are what Breal, Darmesteter and other pioneer students of the science in the last century described as *Restriction* and *Extension*, and what Carnoy, the latest student of this science, has called Prosemy and Eesemy.²

It is the object of this paper to discuss these two changes with special reference to Dravidian, and to point out the

¹ The comparative study of certain fundamental features of phonology and grammar has led Pater W. Schmidt in his recent great work: *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde*, to classify languages on the basis of the common occurrence in them of these peculiarities. Some of these *form-criteria* (as Pater Schmidt calls them in his work), like gender-distinctions, the Numeral system, etc. do give us an insight into the general perspective of the peoples; but the view thus obtained is too general and too meagre to allow us to have an adequate and complete view of the thought-world of the various peoples. Pater Schmidt's aim in his work is to group language-families with the help of these grammatical criteria and to examine how far the language-spheres so grouped together correspond to the culture-spheres established by sociology and anthropology.

² Carnoy's classification is far more precise and subtle than that of his predecessors, based as it is upon psychological analysis.

particular lines along which these changes have occurred in this family of languages.

"Words," says Carnoy, "are *spoken symbols*, i.e. to say, signs indicating, suggesting or recalling ideas. The symbol is an image or a notion which interests our spirit not by itself but by reason of another image or notion which it introduces or evokes. The symbol owes this power to the existence of an association between the idea suggested and its sign. The mere existence of this association is not enough to constitute the symbol. The association should be constant, or at least habitual, and fixed in some manner."

The *spoken symbol* or word represents not a clearly demarcated idea as dictionaries would lead us to think, but stands for a certain meaning-complex constituted of the following three elements :—

- (1) The *primary meaning-note or notes* of the word ;
- (2) The connotations whose limits are indefinite, varying as they do with circumstances, milieus, etc ;
- (3) The *affective* value or values connected with the word.

These three aspects of the meaning of a word, though not usually distinguished or recognised by the speakers, are nevertheless indubitably present in intimate association with the word. Most, if not all, of the changes of Semasiology arise from the inherent peculiarities of one or more of these constituents of the meaning-complex.

Ordinary dictionaries which are prepared as convenient and easy guides to meanings of words, do not at all treat about these strictly scientific nuances of meaning, with which semantic analysis is concerned.

The so-called equivalents, either in the same language or in different languages, are in most cases not equivalents in the strictest semantic sense. Indeed, no two words of a language could possess this semantic identity. No two words can be said to be coincident in all the three aspects of the meaning-complex mentioned above. The real disparity is recognised only rarely when certain words of one language

cannot, on account of glaring features of difference associated with them, by any process be translated into another language at all. It is a matter of common experience that Sanskrit words like *dharma*, *karma*, *ātmā*, etc., which are, so to say, charged with a wealth of ideas, cannot be adequately translated¹ into any other language. Similarly, Dravidian words like *taravāḍu* (family), *kalari* (physical drill), of Malayalam, and *molagu-taṇṇu* (chilly sauce), *kaṭṭu-maram*, (catamaran), *aṇi-kkaṭṭu* (anicut) etc. of Tamil are so rich in special connotations of their own that they have been adopted as such into the vocabulary of English parlance in South India.

These are instances where the disparity of meaning is conspicuous enough to be easily recognised; but there are numbers of words in every language which we wrongly identify with the so-called dictionary equivalents of another language, without recognising the acute differences that mark them off, one from the other.

Not only do these dictionary-equivalents of different languages show this disparity in regard to their semantic aspects, but the so-called synonyms of a particular language, when subjected to close analysis, reveal important features of semantic distinction. Exact identity of meaning is hard to seek in most of these cases. If, for instance, we take the different words for "seeing" in Tamil; *kāṇu*, *pāru*, *nōkku*, *ottu*, *vilu*, we shall find that each one of them is different from the other in respect of one or more of its semantic constituents. Of the several words for *house* in Malayalam: *vīḍu*, *kuḍil*, *māḍam*, *pura*, *mana*, *illam*, besides the Sanskrit expressions *gr̥ham*, *maṭham*, *ālayam*, etc., the connotations of each are entirely different from those of any other, and the contexts in which they are appropriate, vary accordingly. Similar is

¹The common accusation that "*traduttore*" are almost always "*traditore*" will find warm approval from the student of semantics whose fastidious standards of nicety even the best of translators may be unable to satisfy.

The acquisition of a foreign language in this view, therefore, can alone enable us to understand adequately the intellectual wealth contained therein. "A man lives as many times as the languages he learns", says Schopenhauer.

the case with words for *soldier* in Malayāḷam : *yōḍkḍhāvu*, *paṭayāli paṭṭālakkāran*, etc., words for *heat* in all Dravidian dialects : *kāy*, *tē*, *tū*, *kiccū*, etc., words for *going* : *īṅ*, *ēg*, *pō naḍa*, *tar*, *sel*, etc. in Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and the lesser dialects, all of which show considerable variations in their semantic connotations.

Differentiation of meaning is likewise inevitable in the case of foreign borrowings. Large numbers of Sanskrit words have been borrowed in all the South Dravidian dialects from a very early time. Of these borrowings, many have failed to become assimilated in the languages, but a few have become permanent possessions of Dravidian to-day; a number of instances exist by the side of native words, but with differentiated connotations, e.g. *hridayam* and *ullu* for *heart*; *kriya* and *paṇi* for *work*; *garbham* and *cena* for *pregnancy*; *vidyālayam*, *pāṭhasala* on the one hand, and *pallikūḍam* (Tamil), etc. for *school*, on the other.

In semasiology, therefore, the meaning of a word is always a complex. The constituents of this complex are generally characterised by more or less indefinite frontiers. As the human mind is never static and as new ideas are being continually acquired and old ideas lost, it is inevitable that the frontiers of the constituents of the semantic complexus have to be adjusted to the growing needs of thought, especially in view of the fact that the coining of entirely new words is always rare and the human mind generally works with the aid of the existing stock of originals. Thus it has come about that in a large majority of words in the vocabulary of a language, there exists, at a given moment, a lack of correlation between the word itself and its meaning-complex. This lack of correlation varies in intensity and character with the change in the outlook of the people speaking the language.

Prossemy and Ecsemy, like all other semantic changes, result from this lack of correlation.

Prossemy or Restriction is the process by which an occasional note or notes are incorporated with the main note or notes

of the meaning, to the exclusion of other connotations. The process is one of close *adjunction* of an occasional note or notes to the exclusion of all others which are eliminated. If *A* represents the main note or notes of a word, and if *a, b, c, x* the possible occasional notes which might be severally attached to the main notes in varying circumstances, in prosemry we have

$$A(b\ c\ d\ \dots\ x)\ A x.$$

Ecsemry is on the other hand the process by which the original essential connotations that might have existed, are eliminated. The symbolic representation would stand thus :—

$$A(b\ c\ d\ \dots\ x) > A$$

It will be clear from the definitions given above that prosemry is a kind of permanent fixing of the connotation in a term, and ecsemry a process of de-limitation of the possibility of specific or concrete associations. The change in material circumstances and the resultant acquisition of new material ideas, which are bound to occur in a greater or lesser degree in all communities however low their place may be in the scale of civilisation, are bound to bring into operation the process of prosemry ; while ecsemry is almost always the result of the progressive mental outlook of a people whose minds are sufficiently trained to think in more or less abstract terms.

Naturally therefore while instances of prosemry could be found numerously in all languages, ecsemry is frequent only in languages which are highly cultivated. "The vocabulary of a language," says Carnoy, "always reflects the chief pre-occupations of the people speaking it. Modern (European) languages abound therefore in words expressive of (abstract) ideas, conceptions and thoughts. On the contrary, communities whose intellectual evolution has operated in more restricted domains of an inferior order,—those which are often improperly called primitive—have given a considerable development to their concrete vocabulary." The uncultivated Dravidian tribes of the West coast hills,—the Nayāḍis, the Cherumas, etc.—can think only in concrete terms. For instance, the isolation of a verb-idea from particular contexts is an impossible feat with them. A verb like

unnu (to take food) instantaneously evokes in their mind the idea of the particular kind of food they eat.

The condition of all uncultivated dialects of Dravidian is more or less the same. Some of these like Kūi and Gōṇḍi, having come under the foreign influence of Indo-Aryan, do show a number of borrowings expressive of abstract ideas, but the native stock of vocabulary, while it is rich in concrete expressions, shows far fewer abstract words than the highly cultivated major dialects of the south and particularly Tamil. Even verbs never acquire generalized meanings in these uncultivated dialects. Each verb is limited in application to a particular context, e.g., the idea of *swelling* is conveyed by as many as five words in Gōṇḍi, each being limited to a particular context, (*bork, ēr, poṅg, nind, etc.*); similarly, the idea of *leaking as of water from the roof, from a vessel and from mud-walls*, is conveyed by three different words; the idea of *burning* is conveyed by four words: *mas, karv, ve, nir*, each being limited to a special context. Winfield in the preface to his recently published Kui Grammar observes that "though Kui is poor as a medium for highly philosophical discourse, it is an excellent language in which to tell a story." Friend-Pereira in his Grammar observes that the Kuis cannot think in abstract terms at all. Trench's observations regarding the Gōṇḍi dialect are no less emphatic: "the language is like a faulty inner tube, here bloated to excess, there lean beyond expectation. Abstract terms, as in all primitive languages, are almost entirely lacking; collective and general terms are very scarce. Thus there are no purely Gōṇḍi words to signify number, goodness, a day, a man, cattle, etc. But there are words describing to-day and other days, a younger and an elder brother, at least five for cattle of differing ages and sex, and a great many for humans at various stages of growth."

In other words, the perceptual aspect of meanings is conspicuous throughout in the uncultivated Dravidian dialects, while the conceptual aspect which (in the words of Carnoy) is the awareness of a certain preparation of our mind prior to the

intellectual reaction corresponding to the idea, predominates in cultivated dialects like Tamil.

While examples of ecsemy are reduced to a bare minimum (almost exclusively constituted of *catasemy* or generalisation of grammatical categories) in the uncultivated dialects of Dravidian, Tamil, the most highly cultivated dialect of the south, with its abundance of formative affixes (like *-vi*, *-ki*, *-mei*, *-tu*, *-tana*, *-al*, etc.), its prolific power of forming compounds and its capacity to conceive of ideas in the abstract, shows numerous instances of ecsemy.

PROSSEMY.

As the frontiers of the constituents of a meaning-complexus are always somewhat hazy, no two individuals understand or use the same word with absolute identity of meaning. Of course, for all purposes of practical everyday life, there does exist a common set of features associated with the words in the minds of those using them ; but it is easy for different groups, communities or professions to vary the frontiers of the constituents of meanings to such an extent as to produce an individualisation of the meanings. Certain words may thus come to bear the specialised character of a local *patois* or slang which may or may not be accepted by others. When the clerks of a certain office refer to their head as *dorai*, *sāmi*, *sāyvu* or *yejaman*, they have in mind only the particular individual presiding at their office. When the people of a particular locality refer to *the temple*, they invariably mean only the particular temple of their village. When children talk of their relations as *appa* (father) *attān* (cousin) etc., they do not give to the terms the general significations at all. Here then is a prolific source of prossemy. When a specialised expression used by groups of people, communities, professions, etc., becomes accepted by the people at large, either because the expression with its specialised sense, answers to a certain general need, or because it finds itself initiated and circulated by an influential group or community,—we have instances of fully recognised prossemy.

Paṭṭanam (town) in Tamil to-day almost always in certain areas means *Madras town*; and *ācārya swāmigal* means amongst certain groups of people the *Sanṅarācārya* of *Kumbakonam Kāmakōṭi pīṭham*. *Tīrtham* in Malayalam means in some areas and contexts *sacred water*; *puṭṭar* (Brahmin) has amongst certain peoples of Malabar, come to mean a *cook* (from the practice of employing Brahmins as cooks); *mēnon* (*mēlavan*, *headman* originally an honorific title given to Nairs for the performance of certain duties) in certain contexts signifies, today, when used alone, the village revenue officer, as in ancient days it was the practice to employ the leading Nair gentleman of the village in this capacity.

Such words with specialised meanings need not necessarily oust the other meanings of the words, even after they become current in the language with their specialised significations. Words, like *vāḍal* (fall), *ēru* (rise), *seluttal* (entry) of Tamil, and like *vīca* (fall), *kuri* (mark), *vāla* (work), *samayam* (time), *vari* (instalment) of Malayalam have numerous specialised significations all of which exist in common currency in the language. Such instances of *polysemy* are the results partly of the working of the process of *prossemy*.

The largest number of instances of *prossemy* occur among derivatives from verbs. Since at a certain stage in the development of a language, the dominant note or notes of a verb are susceptible of being connected with an almost indefinite number of occasional contexts, the specialised application occurs in certain particular contexts more constantly than in others and in course of time the particular occasional context becomes more or less permanently incorporated with the main note.

Instances of this type often show the change of *prossemy* accompanied by *aposemy* involved in the conversion of the verb-idea into a noun which may be the result, or the attendant feature, of the action contained in the verb-idea; but that *prossemy* plays a distinctive part in them is clear from the limitation of the noun-idea so derived, to a particular context. Thus

from the ancient root *ar* or *aṛ* (to cut), nouns like *ari* (grain, rice), *āru* (way), *aṛam* (knowledge), etc., are derived; or from the root *paḍ* (to touch, to suffer, to fall) nouns like *paḍi* (measure) and *pāḍu* (suffering) are derived; or from *ul* (to remain), nouns like *ullu* (room), *uli* (boring instrument), are formed; or from *kal*, we have *kallu* (toddy), *kallam* (deceit), *kali* (play); or from *vel* (*ve.* light + *ul*, to become) we have *vellam* (water), *velli* (silver), etc., the processes of aposemy and prossemy are conspicuous.

But in the derivation of secondary verbs from original verb-roots, prossemy alone operates. To take the above-given roots themselves as instances, *ar* gives us *arai* (to pound), *ari* (to reap) etc.; *paḍ* gives *paḍukku* (to lie down), *paḍi* (to settle down as in a liquid), etc.; *ul* gives *unṇu* (to eat or to drink), *ūru* (to percolate), *urai* (to solidify), *uraṅgu* (to sleep), etc., *vel* gives *vēl* (to desire), *vēl* (to marry), etc.¹

Prossemy is conspicuous again in the common use of the following words in the Tamil classics: *agalam* (broad breast-*Nāladayār*), *aṇi* (ornament), *amar* (battle), *avir* (to glisten), etc.

What a wealth of forms do we have in all dialects of Dravidian from the ancient bases *māy* and *mār* (to change); *mayāṅgu* (to become dim), *mayakku* (to cast illusion over), *māyu* (to change), *māsu* (stain), *maṇi* (dark), *maṣakkai* (disease of pregnant women), *mayal* (confusion), *māy* (to perish), *maṛu* (dark spot), *maruṅgu*, *marul* (to be bewildered), *maruvu* (to cherish), *maṛa* (to forget), *maṛam* (sin), *marugu* (street), *maṛai* (to screen), etc., etc.

We have prossemy in Malayalam *āṇṇal* (brothers) and *peṇṇal* (sisters) whose original significations are only *males* and *females*;

¹ All these ancient Dravidian bases possess representatives in the various Dravidian dialects:

ar :—numerous cognates for Tam. *ari* (paddy, rice); also Kur. *arkh* (culled vegetables); *ara* (saw), etc.

For *ul* and *vel*, among numerous others, I would mention here only—

ul :—Brāhui *uḷ*, the auxiliary and *uṣṭ* (heart).

vēl :—c.f., amongst others, kurukh *bēdd* (to desire) *bēnj* (to marry) etc., etc.

in the Sanskrit borrowing *atisāram* with the meaning *dysentery*; *appan* in Nambudiri language meaning father's brother; in Mal. *kali* in *Katha-Kali* when used in the sense of Malabar drama, or as usual now-a-days among certain classes in the sense of the now popular cinema show; expressive compounds like *Kūḍi-Kāḷca* (garden party), *poicceluttu* (renewal of mortgage), *ōṭṭantullal* (a kind of Malabar play).

Prosemy is responsible for the differences in the significations with which Sanskrit borrowings are popularised in the various dialects of the South: *upanyāsam* means *essay* in Malayāḷam while it signifies *lecture* or *discourse* in Tamil. *paḍikk-* (<paṭh) means *to learn intensively* in Malayāḷam, while it bears the meaning of *reading* in Tamil; Tamil *samsāram* means dialectally *family* while in Mal. it means *speech*; *vicāram* converted into a verb, has the sense of "inquire" in Tamil parlance, while Malayāḷam retains the meaning of *thought*; *vastu* is used for *property* in Malayāḷam, while it retains its original meanings in the language of Tamil philosophy; *atisayam* (wonder), *sammandam*, tdbh. of *Sambandha* meaning *marriage*, *Kalpāna* with the meaning of *leave* in some parts of Malabar,—are other instances of this kind.

Prosemy, again, is at the back of the variations in the meaning of the same word in different Dravidian dialects. While *pani* means only *cold* in Tamil, it means *fever* in Malayāḷam; *paṣu*, a Sanskrit borrowing, is employed with its original meaning in Tamil, in Malayāḷam it is *cow*. Modern Tamil *Kuli* (half bath) differs from Malayāḷam *Kuli* (bath). *Vellam* (water) is restricted in common parlance to *sheets of water as in rivers, etc.*, in Tamil, while Malayāḷam retains the word as an indispensable member of its everyday vocabulary with the original signification. Tamil *palam*, Telugu *paṇḍu*, etc., mean *ripe fruit* generally, while Malayāḷam *palam* is restricted usually to *ripe plantain*. *Tiṅgal* (*ti-(ñ)-gol*) is used usually with its original meaning *moon* in Old Tamil, Mal. and old Telugu, (cf. also Kui *danju*, moon), while in Kannaḍa and in certain contexts in old Tamil and Tel. it has come to mean by

a process of irradiation *month* also. *Kūlu* retains its original meaning *paste* in Tamil and Kannaḍa, while in Kui it is restricted to *cooked rice* and thence extended in Kuvi to *food*. *Pey* in Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telegu, means : *to fall in a shower*, while in Kui and Gondi, by the double process of prosemy and irradiation, the corresponding form *piju* means *rain*. *Mari* (<*mar*) means in the Southern dialects only *a young one*, while in Brāhūi it has developed into two separate forms one for *son* and the other for *daughter* ; it is interesting to note in this connection that *mari* in the south has also been restricted in some dialets to *the young one of animals*. *Kiḍāvu* means in Malayālam *calf of cow*, while the same base probably underlies *khad* in Kurukh which term appears with the meaning *child*. Kui *agu* (to bear fruit), Gōṇḍi *āka* (leaf), Kurukh *ākhua* (shoot) are probably the results of the operation of prosemy on the old verb *āg* (to become). Tamil *pori* means *fried rice*, while Kui *pru* which has the same origin, means *rice*. Tamil *tāru* is applied to the sprout (as a whole) of a bunch of plantains while Kui *tāri* means *plantain*. *Up* means *to drink* in Kui, while in the other Dravidian dialects it means *to eat*.

Pejoration and Melioration are two varieties of Prosemy whereby the affective or emotional values of words are subject to change.

Pejoration is the process by which the meaning of a word becomes "depreciated;" the pejorative meaning arises mainly from two causes.

(a) The euphemistic attenuation and disguising of disagreeable or revolting ideas by the use of "good" words gradually loses the element of euphemism and the "degraded" sense is alone associated with the words. *Vikṛta* is a Sanskrit word which literally has no bad association with it at all; but Malayālam uses it today with a distinctly pejorative significance : *vicious, perverse*, etc. Another Sanskrit combination *adhika-prasaṅgi* has become pejorative in Malayālam : *evil-minded*. *Pāvam* with its meaning (fool), *sāttvikan* (simpleton), *caturan* (rogue) are other similar instances of pejoration in

Malayālam. It is significant that such words are all Sanskrit, originally employed euphemistically to conceal disagreeable meanings but afterwards shorn of their euphemistic element.

It is worthy of note that when in certain contexts the initial euphemism is lost sight of and the disagreeable meaning is plainly and commonly seen through, recourse is had to a fresh euphemism which may again be forgotten, and the process repeated several times. Many of the terms expressing everyday bodily necessities fall under this category.

(b) The inherent cynical tendency in human nature to detect weaknesses in things, peoples, etc., whether justly or unjustly, leads to the "degradation" of certain words.

The names of certain professions and communities are held in contempt by those outside such professions and communities. This contempt is reflected in the use of these with a pejorative meaning. *Kosavan* (potter), *parayan* (Pariah), *nayāḍi* (Nayadi) have pejorative meanings in certain contexts in the parlance of the so-called "superior" castes.

Some of these pejorative expressions may well be libellous too : to call a man *Kumbakōṇam* in the Andhra districts has been declared a libel by law.

The unchivalrous nature of the male sex is mirrored in the pejorative use of terms describing women. *Acci* (tadbhava of stri?) *peṇḍāṭi* (wife), *ammayār* (Tamil Brahmin woman of Malabar) are in certain localities pejorative. Similarly, *paṭṭar* (Malabar Tamil Brahman—a tadbhava from *bhaṭṭa*, wise one), *Koṅgan* (a native of Kongu land or of the eastern districts generally) have pejorative associations in certain parts of Malabar. After the inception of the Pan-Andhra movement within recent years, *aravāḍu* (Tamilian) implies a certain resentment of the Andhra at the swamping by Tamilians of the trade and the officialdom of Andhra districts.

The horror and the pity surrounding the lot of the Hindu widow is so great that the word *munḍa* (widow, shorn of hair) is scrupulously avoided except in abusive language, and other words or expressions used instead.

Melioration is the converse process in which the word becomes elevated in meaning. Instances of melioration in all languages are rather rare. Is it because cynicism is so deeply inherent in human nature?

Melioration, whenever it occurs, can be traced to either of the following two causes :—

(a) Certain words which had “ bad ” meanings originally, are employed as expressions of friendship, love and endearment in certain contexts ; the melioration thus comes to be gradually recognised in these contexts.

When parents endearingly fondle their children with the terms : *Kallan* (thief), *muṭṭālan* (wicked fellow), etc., the meliorative effect is distinctly felt ; but such expressions, though common in the parents’ vocabulary, never become permanently incorporated in the language.

Similarly in Tamil religious poetry, *Kalla*, *tiruḷā*, *pittā*, etc. are employed in addressing the Deity ⁽¹⁾.

(b) When the general attitude of the people towards communities or professions originally held in some amount of contempt, changes, their names also become shorn in some degree of their pejorative associations. *Jōnakan* (Moslem, from *Yavanaka*) which had a clearly pejorative force in certain parts of Malabar, because of certain historical reasons, improved in meaning for some time, and then again became reduced to its old pejorative level, again for politico—historical reasons.

The Kaḷḷars of Madura and Trichinopoly districts have now begun to pride themselves on their communal name. The

(1) To the spiritual devotee in the ecstasy of *bhakti*, these terms in their contexts signify nothing but the stainless nobility of God.

When, for instance, the Śaivite saint Sambandar sings :

“tōṇḍaya-śeṇṇiyan viḍayēri-yōr tūveṇmadisūḍi

Kāṇḍaya sūḍalai-p-poḍi pūṣi-y-ennuḷḷangam Kavar-kalvan ”

“ He with baringed ears, the rider of the Vṛṣabha, with the crown of the crescent moon and smeared with the ashes of the *śmaśān*, ‘ He is the *stealer of my heart* ’ ” ; or when Sundaramūrti Swami addresses the same god (Śiva) as *pittāpīraṭ sūḍi perumāṇē* ” etc. “ O ! mad one crowned with the moon ” the acme of *bhakti* is signalised.

Iluvās of Malabar have, in recent years when there has been great awakening of communal consciousness, discovered that the name by which their community is described has quite a respectable origin, and the term has consequently become "elevated" in the view at least of the members of the community themselves.

ECSEMY : The elimination of minor notes in such a way that the dominant note or notes alone remain associated with the word is the process called Ecsemy. Such changes, betokening as they do mental activity of a superior type on the part of the people speaking the language, are rare among peoples with primitive cultures. Escsemy is a productive source of abstract expressions. Says Carnoy : "It is a source of great progress in languages, if not pushed too far. The detaching of concrete associations from the meaning of a word marks a psychological state of a very high order. The acquisition of such abstract ideas necessitates the suppression of the connotations of certain existing words and their employment with the newly-developed abstract meanings."

As is only to be expected, instances of ecsemy are far rarer in the uncultivated Dravidian dialects than in the highly developed dialects of the South, particularly Tamil. Native instances are far more frequent in Tamil than in Kannāḍa, Telugu, Tulu or Malayālam ; for, while these latter were almost swamped by the onrush of Sanskrit vocabulary, they have very nearly lost sufficient individuality to keep in tact and develop the meanings of the native stock of words.

Instances of Ecsemy in Dravidian fall into three classes :—

(a) The envisaging of the verb-idea in a general sense exists only in the cultivated dialects. The Kuis, the Gonds, and other primitive Dravidian peoples of central India on the one hand, and the primitive castes inhabiting the hilly tracts of South India are practically incapable of understanding the verb-idea except in its pure perceptual state ; the reaction of the idea is rarely perceived. The major dialects of South India on the other hand freely conceive of the verb-idea as apart

from its concrete applications. The greatest Tamil classical works like the *Kural* abound in the use of mere verb-bases in abstract or conceptual senses.¹ The process by which this has been possible is *ecsemy*. It is significant in this connection to note that in Tamil the mere verb-base is employed as such as a kind of infinitive for diverse purposes. The varied use of the infinitive bespeaks great advance in the capacity to evolve the generalised sense of the verb-idea.

(b) The same kind of generalisation by *ecsemy* has been at work in the numerous verbal nouns formed with various affixes in Tamil :— *-al*, *-vi*, *-vu*, *-gai*, *-tana*, *-tu*, etc.

The employment of these affixes to form verbal nouns is not in any way peculiar to Tamil; such derivations exist in all the Dravidian dialects, but while in the lesser dialects such derivatives have remained more or less with their original concrete meanings, in Tamil not only have abstract meanings been developed for the oldest derivatives, but these affixes have been converted into very active instruments whereby new abstract ideas could be formed from concrete conceptions. In this respect, ancient Tamil can be compared to the Indo-European and Indo-Aryan classical languages. "If we were to search for the superiority of Indo-European languages," says Breal, "I should find it not in the grammatical mechanism, nor in the compound words, nor even in syntax; but in my opinion it is to be found in the ease with which, from the most ancient periods of which we know, these languages have had the power of creating abstract terms. If only we observe the suffixes employed for the purpose, we shall be astonished at their number and variety."

(¹) It is most remarkable how Tamil in past ages had been able to evolve abstract ideas from concrete forms through the various processes of *Ecsemy*, *Metecsemy*, *Parasemy*, *Metaphor*, etc. cf the following :—

"perumaikkum—ēnai sirumaikkum tattai—garumamē kaṭṭalai-k-kal."

"nāpamai nāḍamai nāriṇmai yādonrum pēpamai pēḍai tolil."

These simple couplets from Tiruvalluvar's *Kural* would illustrate how the native vocabulary had been welded in an ancient past into a perfect vehicle of abstract (thought).

There is no doubt that ancient Tamil should have possessed a similar power. If it has been partially lost to-day, it is due to a variety of causes, not the least important among which is the dominance of Sanskrit vocabulary and Sanskrit culture.

All the most important instances of ecsemy—particularly those which mark off the superiority of Tamil over other dialects — fall under this category.

It should be noted here that ecsemy in these cases follows a process of prossemy whereby certain occasional notes originally became attached to the root-signification of words. Indeed, in view of the fact that in the original primitive condition of Dravidian as in that of other languages, the roots had only concrete meanings which by the process of prossemy, underwent restriction of various types, the acquisition of the new shades of higher thought resulting in ecsemy, could necessarily operate only on the prossemic developments of original root-significations.

Thus *iyal* (nature— < to be joined), *ul* (destiny) *uyir* (soul), *arul* (benevolence), *sayal* (beauty) *kaṇ* (Kindliness) *kādal* (love < *kāy*), *ili* (disgrace) *inbu* (love < *in*), *aśaiṇu* (weariness < *ay*, to move), and a host of similar instances occurring in the language of the greater Tamil classics, are instances of ecsemy following upon prossemy of root-significations.

It will be clear that in these cases it is neither metendosemy (transference) that has operated, — for the dominant notes remain intact, — nor is it metecsemy (metaphor), because the change throughout is a gradual one from the concrete to the abstract, and it involves the elimination not of any meaning-note but only of the minor meaning-notes.

(c) The ideas of *time*, *place* and *distance* conceived in the abstract are wanting in the lesser dialects and in this respect they reflect the original condition of primitive Dravidian. Tamil *Nāl*, expressive of time conceived in the abstract should have been a comparatively late development; the earlier condition is reflected in the use of the word like *nāle* (to-morrow) etc. where we see time-words in the most primitive state

applied to definite periods conceived separately. *Idam* (place) and *idai* (distance) similarly are used in Tamil with fully generalised significations.

Toḍakkam originally denoted as the base *toḍ* implies, the initiation of anything through *touch*, but now it means *commencement* generally. The *ecsemy* here should have been fairly ancient, since corresponding forms are found in many dialects of Dravidian.

Vali, which literally means *pain caused by force (val)*, means to-day *bodily pain of all kinds* in Tamil—Malayālam.

Amma, literally "mother", is now used as an honorific appellation for *all women* in the South (in Tamil with the feminine affix *āl*). similarly, *ayyar* (< *āryan*), *ceṭṭi* (< *srēṣṭhi*; *māpīla* (< *maha* + *pīla*?) have become mere titular caste appellations in South India.

Koñṇan in Malayālam was originally applied to the Tamil people of the Koṅgu nād, but to-day it is applied to all Tamilians in a pejorative sense.

Sāmi (< *swāmi*) was a term of respectful address used in connection with Brahmin overlords or masters, but to-day in Malabar, the term applies to all Tamilian Brahmins of whatever rank or position.

Gosāvi (< Hindi *gosain*) describes not only the ascetic pilgrims proceeding to Ramēśwaram *via* the South of India, but any native Hindi-speaking individual coming from the north of India. Pandit Mādan Mōhan Malaviya, while on his recent visit to the Cochin State, was described by the common people in certain parts of this State as the *Gosāvi vakīl*.

The fame of Gāndhi, misunderstood by the masses of certain localities, has given rise to the generic term *gāndi-pailmān* which means *man with extraordinary physical might*.

(d) Yet another class of *ecsemy* (which has been termed by Carnoy *catasemy*) is the discoloration through generalisation of words which originally had definite significations of their own but which subsequently became grammatical functionaries.

Many of the tense-affixes, formative endings, modal particles, expletives, auxiliary verbs and inflexional terminations of Dravidian fall under this category. Some of the most common among these are the following:—

Tense-affixes :—*t* (< *at*, neuter demonstrative), used for Present and Past Tense formations, and *-v* (< *vei*, to place) employed for forming the Future Tense.

Formative endings :—*-v* (< *vei*), *k-g* (< *Kei*, to do), *-t* (< *at*), *-l* or *l*, etc.

Modal Particles :—*el* (< *el*, time), *-kā* (< *kāl*, foot), *ā* or *āg* (< *āg*, to become) etc.

Auxiliary verbs :—*ul* (to remain), *āg* (to become), *ir* (to sit) have become generalised into auxiliaries in most Dravidian dialects.

— Inflexional Terminations :—The demonstrative particles *-a*, *-i* (and possibly *e*) ; *-l* (< *il*, place), *-n* (< *-l* < *il*, place), *-k* or *-g* (< *Kei*, to do), *-d* (< *od*, to touch) etc.

VI.—The Buddhistic Conception of Sublimation.

By J. K. Sarkar, Professor of Philosophy, Greer Bhumihar
Brahmana College, Muzaffarpur.

§Introduction.

The Nirvāṇa is the vehicle of sublimation or uplifting of the individual. There is no term so hopelessly misinterpreted, no notion so completely distorted as the Nirvāṇa is. The confused mass of misconceptions and ambiguities arises from various sources, viz., the long litany of synonyms negative, contradictory and apparently irreconcilable, indefinite definitions, etc. The confusion between 'Nivṛti' and 'Nirvāṇa', the twofold meaning of the word 'Nirvāṇa', viz., 'cooling' and 'extinguishing' are *but* the most prolific source of errors. To us the Nirvāṇa is shrouded in mystery and with regard to its meaning our imagination has its full play, as the reality is unknown. But in spite of its numberless negative content and description it has succeeded in attracting many human beings during many centuries and in many climes. It has been the perennial source of hope and solace to the populations that have made out of it their spiritual food. What has been done by the prophets in Judiah, Lao-tse in China, the mystic religion in Greece, has also been done by the Buddhism or the birth of Nirvāṇa in India, and in the greater part of Asia. The Buddhism with its celebrated doctrine of the Nirvāṇa is, like all other superior religions, a sort of an assurance against death and the terrors and miseries following from it. So the Nirvāṇa can never be the annihilation in itself.

The negative contents of the Nirvana leading on to its positive significance.

Buddhaghōṣa remarks : "The Nirvāṇa is one, but its names founded on its contraries are numerous." The variants of these contraries or negatives are cessation, destruction, detachment, nothingness, the negation of the *Prapañcha* or *Samsāra* : the end of desire, aversion and blindness ; the

deliverance from sufferings, birth, evil and death. The Nirvāṇa is destruction, the Buddha is the destructor. The Saṃsāra is *Vatta*, the turn of wheel, the Nirvāṇa is *Vivatta*. and the Buddha is the *Venayika*. Verily the Tathāgata says, "I am the king of the Law, born in the world in order to be the destructor of existence." ¹The great teacher, while preaching to the Seeḥa the doctrine of abstinence from all evil actions of body, speech and thought, says that he wishes others to destroy the desire, hatred and blindness. In fact, the cessation of *Saṃsāra* without, and of *Taṇhā* within is made possible as by the total annihilation as by one eternity of happy existence. The suppression of the individual existence and supreme felicity arising out of the appeasement of thirst (corresponding to the two imports of the Nirvāṇa, viz., extinction and cooling down)—the negative and positive bliss affirmed of the Nirvāṇa do not exclude each other! On the other hand, the Nirvāṇa is positive bliss because it is annihilation. This can be easily inferred from the nature of the Nirvāṇa, from the teachings of the Buddha.

The nature of the Nirvana.

The Nirvāṇa is one. It does not admit of degrees. *It is*, or it is *not*, just as a flame, as much as it burns, is not extinguished. So the Nirvāṇa could not be more or less complete. It is without relation with what may be other than itself. It receives nothing from some other cause. It is called the *Anupādāyanirvāṇa*.² It is above all time and space. There is no place where the Nirvāṇa is. And yet the Nirvāṇa is, and he who conducts his life properly, knows or realises it. It is like the fire: the fire is, and yet the fire is not in some part or position (Milinda Panho). The distinction between Parinirvāṇa and Nirvāṇa is emotive and not logical. The Nirvāṇa is the concept pure and simple, the idea of achievement that calls into play the feelings of those who understand it. One can be Parinirvṛta, and can continue to act in the world (Madhyamakavṛtti).

¹ In Mahavagga (IV, 31, 4-7).

² Madhyamaka Vṛtti, XXV.

Again, the Nirvāṇa is put under different categories by the Buddhist teachers according to the different characters of the individuals that obtain it¹—viz., Sanditthika (Immediate) Nirvāṇa, *Ditthe va Dhamme* (Nirvāṇa in the present life), *Sopādhiseṣa-Nirvāṇi*, *nirupādhiseṣa-Nirvāṇa*, *apratiṣṭhita-Nirvāṇa* (Nirvāṇa without attachment). There are other classifications of the Nirvāṇa in the Nettiprakaraṇa that concern the *anāgamins* only. (1) The Sanditthika-nirvāṇa is indicative of the fruit obtained immediately by a Bhikṣu or an individual freed from passion, aversion and blindness. Having obtained it, he no more knows or feels the affliction caused by evil. In it he finds immediately the result of his work i.e., the realization of the moral and spiritual conditions of the supreme appeasement². (2) Again, in the Sutta-Nipāta we read that the Nirvāṇa can be obtained *in the present life, ditthe va dhamme*. This Nirvāṇa is an incomparable island for those who are plunged into the waters, carried away by the terrible current and preyed upon by old age and death. So it is the destroyer of old age and death. Those who have a full knowledge of it are extinguished in this very life and escape the power of *Māra*. In the *Dīgha-Nikāya* and other scriptures this Nirvāṇa is not the sole monopoly of the Bhikṣus. "A Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or a Brāhmaṇa who has control over body, speech and thought, has realized the favourable condition of the Nirvāṇa and is extinguished in this very life." (3) *The Sopādhiseṣa-Nirvāṇa* is the Nirvāṇa with a residue of the substratum—a residue of the phenomenal life. (4) When the Karma is extinguished and there are no aggregates, the Nirvāṇa is the *Nirupādhiseṣa-Nirvāṇa*. The *Kleśas* (Ignorance, passion, etc.) are like the robbers that plunder a village. People chase them and they conceal themselves; but the village is always there. It is the Nirvāṇa with Upādhi. In the Nirvāṇa without Upādhi, there are neither robbers nor any village (*Madhyamaka Vṛtti*).

¹ P. Oltramare's *Le'histoire des Idées Théosophiques dans L'inde*.

² *Anguttara-Nikaya*, III, 55.

(5) The *apratisthita-Nirvāṇa*, the *Nirvāṇa* without attachment, is held by the *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra* schools. The *pratiṣṭhā* is the base or point of attachment for some object. The *apratisthita-Nirvāṇa* is an ultraphenomenal state having an exceptional character of transcendence. In it there is neither particularization, nor *nimitta* and the causal nexus, but there is the possession of knowledge with duality or polarity of subject and object, or without differentiation.¹ In such a state the common function of the sexual becomes with the Buddhas a source of infinite virtues and the knowledge procured by the intellect is wholly free from erroneous ideas.² Having obtained this *Nirvāṇa*, the *Tāyins* are in the *Samsāra*, but do not suffer any injury from the contact with the world (*Bodhicharyā-vatāra* of *Śāntideva*). Thus the *apratisthita-Nirvāṇa* and the *Samsāra* are not exclusive of each other. Now it is evident that the *Nirvāṇa* can be attained even in this very life. It is supreme felicity as it is extinction or freedom from passion, hatred, *Karmaphal*, etc. The different orders of the *Nirvāṇa* are built by the different schools, just suiting the different temperaments of the individuals. The different classes of the *Nirvāṇa* are but the different steps towards the sublimation of the individual temperaments. The temperaments, though they may be starved, cannot be destroyed altogether but sublimated or directed and uplifted towards a higher, healthier mental state. This temperamental purification is a stepping-stone to the next ultimate step, viz., the absolute *Nirvāṇa*. The difference between the absolute *Nirvāṇa* and the other forms of the *Nirvāṇa* is that the former excludes the *Samsāra* while the latter do not.

The doctrine of the Buddha as the greatest conqueror of the human heart.

The Buddha has succeeded in conquering the greatest number of human hearts, as his doctrine is plastic enough for furnishing to all the religious food that is suitable for them.

¹ *Panchakrama*, (Vi-24-25).

² *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra* of *Asaṅga*.

(i) To the devout lay men the paradisiacal felicity is offered by him as their reward, though threatened with the fear of dethronement and of rebirth and death. The constructions of different heavens (Svarga, Buddha-kṣetras etc.) by the Buddhist monks, as rightly pointed out by Poussin, are simply meant to suit various temperaments of the people. Nevertheless, the absolute Nirvāṇa, though it is external bliss, is not the paradise. In the eyes of the Bodhisattva the abode in the heaven is not a reward. The joys of heaven are nothing in comparison with the pure beatitude of the being that has been liberated. The fruit of the entrance into the stream (Sotāpatti) is infinitely superior to the empire of the earth, abode in heaven, and dominion of the entire world.¹ The entrance into the Sotāpatti is the first step towards the conquest of one good that is imperishable. The *svarga* is not the abode of the Nirvāṇa, but rather opposed to it. Nor is the Buddha-kṣetra the place of the Nirvāṇa, but a stage for reaching it.

(ii) To those who are tired of this world in which all are beginning and changing, birth and death, is offered by the Buddha the ideal of Sanctity which is identified with the Nirvāṇa. Sanctity, regarded by Śāriputra as the extinction of desire, aversion and blindness, rescues them from all forms of existence limited and decayed by old age, etc. When one aspires to this form of the Nirvāṇa, the new birth with the subsequent fear of death is considered as damnation (Netti-prakarāṇa). Whatever may be the conception of the Nirvāṇa, whatever may be the ideal of bliss, millions of people put their faith and hope in the salvation which Buddha held out to them. The perspective to enjoy the profound peace consoled and tranquillised them. The Bhikṣu attaches himself to nothing, as the sensations are perishable. Without having any attachment he fears nothing. Because he fears nothing, he has the Nirvāṇa.² Hence the Nirvāṇa consists in the liberation

¹ Dhammapada.

² Majjhima-nikāya.

from the fear to die. So, though the Nirvāṇa is annihilation, it is not death, but the abolition of death. It is immortality, *Amṛta*. In Mahāvagga we read:—"Open the door of the immortality....." In Sutta-Nipāta we read—"with him who has left all attachment for name and form, there is no more infection through which he can fall a victim to the power of death." The sage who, in realising the Nirvāṇa, has banished from his heart all fears, lives from the very moment in full security (*Yagakṣema*). The greatest terror or suffering of man is his fear of death, and the Nirvāṇa consists above all in liberating him from this fear. If the mission of all great religions is to extirpate it, the Buddhism with its doctrine of the Nirvāṇa has not failed in this mission. As it is impossible to kill the fear of death by uprooting it, the Buddhism tried it to transform and subliminate it by different methods, both subjective and objective, with its sterilising principle of the Nirvāṇa. In Sutta-nipāta and Majjhima-Nikāya it is said that a man in order to be free from the terror of death should consider the world under the aspect of the empty. To cling to anything, however supreme or sublime it may be, is to court the fear of death. In rejecting the idea of the soul, one triumphs over death. The Nirvāṇa is one joy intense and divine at the moment of death. In preventing the death from projecting its umbra on the life, the Nirvāṇa starts into life itself. Here the Buddha's pessimistic attitude towards the human body is more than compensated by his optimistic attitude of the human life and mind as purified and strengthened by the Nirvāṇa.

Nirvana positive or definite.

The Nirvāṇa, called positive or definite, coincides with the death of the Arhat. Now the death is a dissolution for saints and common individuals alike, a dissolution of the aggregates, consciousness, skandhas, etc. What then is the difference between the death and the death of the Arhat, called the Nirvāṇa? The difference is that the death of the common man does not extinguish the residues of the existence which act

in some way or other as a centre of materialisation or a new complex for a new existence. The saint does not drag after him the germs of individualisation which are productive of all sufferings. His death puts an end to the individual continuity and precludes all possibilities of survival. It destroys the phenomenal and individualised existence. The Nirvāṇa, as the cause of cessation of all becoming, concerns itself with the world of birth and death, but in itself it belongs to a system other than the phenomenal. To this system no measure can be applied. "Does the consciousness exist in a being who has disappeared? Is he, or is he no more?" asked the venerable Upasīva. The Buddha replied, "To him who has disappeared, no measure can be applied. He disappears like a flame blown off by a gust of wind (*Attham Gatassa na pramāṇam atthi*).¹ Thus the Nirvāṇa puts all individuals above all dialectic categories, outside of all contingency. It is something that is neither born, nor made or perfected. If there had not been that something it would have been impossible to escape from what is born, etc. Thus the Nirvāṇa forms a separate system of reality by itself.²

The Nirvana as a different system of Reality.

But now the question is : how can we form an idea of, or define the Nirvāṇa, as all ideas and words are related to the distinguishing characters of things of Samsāra? In fact the Nirvāṇa has no characters. It is impossible to say what it is. It is a region in which there is neither earth nor water, etc., nor perception. In it there is neither coming nor going, neither birth nor death. It does not grow and has no point of support. In it there is neither Upādhi nor Upādāna, neither Skandha nor Saṃskāra and Vijñāna. It is like the Avidyā of the Vedāntins. All these negations are only for the Vijñāna, as the Vijñāna knows only the phenomenal world. But it (Nirvāṇa) is an ultra-phenomenal knowledge. "By the ultra-mundane knowledge I shall open to all creatures the gate of the blissful destiny of the Nirvāṇa"³. This ultra-phenomenal knowledge has a

¹ Sutta-Nipāta.

² P. Altramare's *L'Histoire des Idées Theosophiques Dans L'Inde*.

³ *Sikṣasamuchhaya* of Santideva.

definite value attached to it. For the Yogācāra, the Nirvāṇa is a thing religious par excellence. Asaṅga states a number of qualities that are not suppressed by the entry into the Nirvāṇa, such as sovereignty, aiśvarya of the Bodhisattva, the pārmitā (Māhāyāna-Sutrālaṅkāra of Asaṅga). If so much of Dharma remains intact in the Nirvāṇa, it can never be an absolute destruction in itself. In some respects it may resemble the vacuity, as both deny the phenomenon (*c.f.* Mādhyamikas and Vedāntins). Yet it is the supreme reality, unique truth as opposed to the phenomenal and Saṃskāras which are untruths. Again, the Nirvāṇa is the extinction of *Bhāva* and *Prapañcha*. It is the supreme felicity because it is the extinction. But how can there be supreme felicity where there is no sensation or perception in it? It is precisely the perfect felicity as there is no sensation or perception in it. All sensation supposes duality, duality implies limitation, and limitation is suffering.

Though it may be admitted that the Nirvāṇa is the annihilation as well as the eternal felicity, yet it appears to be nothing in the absence of a permanent principle or soul. But in fact, the Nirvāṇa changes nothing, except that it suppresses evil and suffering. It does not annihilate life but lifts it up. It is the life, and not the Nirvāṇa, that kills life. The life, and not the Nirvāṇa, is one incessant destroying (according to the law of momentariness of things and of conditioned birth). If anywhere the absence of soul is felt, it is in the life and not in the Nirvāṇa.

But how can it be the life and soul, if the continuity of life, perception, consciousness and all others will disappear for it. It is then really nothing. But though it eliminates all, it is reality in itself. It creates a new state on the suppression of the Saṃsāra. So with the Buddhists the Saṃsāra is not the only imaginable form of existence. But the existence of a state preserved in the Nirvāṇa is neither phenomenal nor individual. It is rather away from both, or suppresses both at the same time. Its negative contents carry us so far to its positive reality.

Conclusion.

(a) In fine, it may be said here that the Buddhism has put before the people two ideas, or one in two, viz., the removal of suffering, and the attainment of the Nirvāṇa or absolute rest, or one by the other. The first is more moral and religious, while the second is more theosophic. The first is more open and plain and faithful to the thought of the founder, and the method to realise it is more simple, viz., purification of conduct, purging of intelligence and training of will. The second ideal, as it is more theosophic, is rooted in the doctrines of the Upanishads following as the corollaries of the doctrine of the Being, viz., Impermanence of all things, rebirths of painful existences, impossibility to escape from Karmaphala, assertion of the possible cure and of a permanent bliss in the absolute rest. The method to realise this second ideal is more or less the intuitive one, viz., the method of meditation and illumination. So two undercurrents flow beneath the heart of the Buddhism. But they are made to flow towards the same end—the creation of the great man, Mahapūṣa or Arhat who has the heart freed (Saṃyutta Nikāya).

(b) The Buddhism has numerous points of contact with the Brāhmaṇic speculation and other philosophical and religious systems of India. The end and the method are the same in all, the end being the pursuit of salvation by the annihilation of the limited and miserable existence, and the method being the introspective one described as a luminous appearance. The theory of the Jñāna and the Samāpatti are Yogic in its essential parts. The advance towards the *Bodhi* by the method of concentration with *Samādhi* and *Samātha*, with *Prajñā* and *Vipasyanā*, the advance towards the *Bodhi* by the method of extatic contemplation with the *Karmasthānas*, *Dhyāna* and *Samīpātī* are essentially Yogic in character. Even the conception of the *Bodhi* is partly Vedāntic—the *Bodhi* the thought of which opens, blooms, expands, even in sleep and in which the Bhikṣu with his heart appeased finds himself everywhere and identifies himself with everything. Again, the Nirvāṇa has the characters

of Brahman or the universal soul. The Nirvāṇa is "It alone is one, one".

But in spite of its agreement with other systems the Buddhism has distinguishing features of its own, without which it could not have justified its great fortune. The favourable circumstances, the great power of adaptability and organisation of the community, the propaganda and above all the chance element can never solely account for the expansion and grandeur of the Buddhism.¹ To survive for a long time and with so much vigour and strength it owes to its inner principle and not to its outward proceedings. It is the internal, integral religion, the Dharma that rules all and acts as the unique principle of cohesion and development. It matters little whether the contents of the religion are new or borrowed. But with the Buddhist they all acquire a religious significance, as the Buddhism utilises these gifts for explaining the origin of suffering and discovering the path of the ultimate recovery i.e., the Nirvāṇa. To acquire verity by the individual himself and to conduct others to it are the chief preachings of the Buddha and the keystone of the Buddhism.

(c) But to attain to the ultimate truth the purification and sublimation of the will is absolutely necessary. So, out of the seven factors constitutive of the illumination the will with its reserves of energy is one that really leads to the concentration of thought. And in the moral life of the individual it is the will or tendency, *Asaya* that acts on the *Āśaya*, the psychic state at a given moment, and manifests itself in the karman on which depends the ultimate destiny of the individual. With the help of the sublimated will, the individual can pass through the eight steps of the Jñāna and the ninth Samāpatti and can acquire power and equilibrium of the mind and at last the ultimate truth. If so much preparation and training are necessary for the attainment of the nirvāṇa, the nirvāṇa can not be a negative and empty thing.

¹P. Oltramare.

(d) The attainment of the Nirvāṇa is thus solely made possible by the exertion of one's own self to conquer the fear of death. The will is the beast of burden which carries the Bhikṣu to his ultimate goal. But the ordinary man, in his miserable and helpless condition, creates God in his own image. He casts his burden upon the Lord. His God is the repository of his highest hopes, the confidant of his deepest troubles. His God is the God of justice, love and mercy. So God always stands for what is felt to be in the interests of troubled humanity. But the Buddha could see with his prophetic vision that man can never be freed from suffering or death by any kind of dependence whatsoever. His salvation lies in his own exertion. His ultimate end or Nirvāṇa is perfect freedom (even from God or soul). Buddha is not the murderer of God but of dependence, bondage and misery.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Bhanja kings and their country.

In an article entitled "Antiquities of the Baudh State", published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, (Vol. XV, p. 64 *et seq.*) Prof. R. D. Banerji has chosen to criticise some of my conclusions in regard to certain geographical identifications made by me in an article on 'Four Bhañja Copperplate Grants' published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 282 *ff.* As his arguments did not appear to be either logical or convincing I had no mind to write a rejoinder, but it struck some of my friends that my silence may cause a misapprehension. I am therefore compelled to reply in justice to myself.

Under the heading 'Khiñjali Maṇḍalā' Mr. Banerji says, "it is *now* possible to state with some degree of definiteness what was the exact location of Khiñjali. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal is of opinion that Khiñjali is Keonjhar. A consideration of the location of the villages mentioned in the Bhañja charters, which have been identified by Mr. Hira Lal and me leads me to believe that Khiñjali cannot be Keonjhar. In addition to the title '*Ubhaya-Khiñjhaladyadhipati*' applied to certain kings only of the Bhañja dynasty, the district or *maṇḍala* of Khiñjali is mentioned in many of the Bhañja charters." The writer of the fore-going quotation then cites four inscriptions, *viz.*, Kumurukela and three Baudh records (in which the gifted villages are placed in the Khiñjali maṇḍala) and draws the conclusion that "Khiñjali maṇḍala was the name of the country on both banks of the Mahānadī near and about the modern states of Sonpur and Baudh." This localisation gives a base of 40 miles (which is the length of the Mahānadī running within the two states) and an altitude of about five miles on either side, which works out to 400 square miles as the area of the Khiñjali maṇḍala. Taking for granted that Mr. Banerji allows this much of area to only one of the (*Ubhaya*) Khiñjali

maṇḍalas, the total area of the whole Khiṇjali tract could not have been much more than 800 square miles, but finding Yaśobhañja granting villages in the Ganjām district and calling himself *Samasta Khiṇjalidesādhīpati* Mr. Banerji is compelled to admit at the end of his article (page 86) that "the early Bhañjas possessed the whole of Orissa Garhjats from Mayūra-bhañja and Keonjhar to Askā and Chatrapur in modern Ganjam". The last conclusion is simply a paraphrase of what I wrote in 1923 after discussing the question of the extent of the Bhañja kingdom, using the same materials which Mr. Banerji has now (after six years) brought to his service. I then said that the Bhañja kingdom "included almost all the Tributary states of Orissa together with the northern portion of the Ganjam district, covering about 16,000 square miles, about half of which is occupied by Mayūrabhañja and Keonjhar estates, both of which were owned by the *Ubhaya-Khiṇjalyadhipati* or lord of both the Khiṇjalis".

Mr. Banerji, forgetting that there were two Khiṇjalis under the Bhañja kings, lays stress on the location or rather localisation of only one of them, and does not even try to localise the other. Apparently unwilling to allot a big area to a *maṇḍala*, which he translates as *district*, he feels that Keonjhar is too far away to be included in the Khiṇjali bordering on the Mahānadī. Keonjhar is about 100 miles from the Mahānadī in Sonpur. Thus the area of the Khiṇjali *maṇḍala*, north of the Mahānadī would work out to 100×40 or 4,000 square miles. Is this too big for a district? The Raipur district in the Central Provinces bordering on Orissa has an area of 9,834 square miles. In fact, before the formation of the Drug district a few years ago, it enclosed an area of more than 11,000 square miles. Modern districts may not quite correspond to the old *maṇḍalas*, some of which were certainly very small. But a similar disparity exists even now. The smallest district in the Central Provinces is less than 2,000 square miles in area. While an old *maṇḍala* sometimes comprised an area of a thousand square miles or less, in other words equal to that of a modern tahsil

or subdivision of a district, there are instances where it approached the dimensions of a province. For instance the Dāhala *maṇḍala* is described as occupying a country lying between the Ganges and Narmadā¹ rivers with nine lakhs of villages within its area. With a base of 250 miles of the Narmadā within the Kalachuri dominions and an average altitude of at least 200 miles reaching the Ganges, the *maṇḍala*'s area would work out to 50,000 square miles. Make it half if you will, to cover all objections and yet you will find the area to be equivalent to that of about eight average districts of Bengal. Apart from this it may be noted that Khiṇjali was not merely a *maṇḍala* or two *maṇḍalas*, but also a country (*deśa*) of the Bhañjas, just as Bombay and Madras are the names of provinces, though they took them originally from their principal towns. Again just as Nagpur is a city, which has given its name to a tahsil, a district and a Commissioner's division, Khiṇjali played a similar rôle during the Bhañja regime. Khiṇjali took its name from a village or town. It was in the ordinary course extended to the surrounding tract or *maṇḍala* and finally to the country, as it went on increasing under the Bhañjas.

Mr. Banerji has not endeavoured to show why even the small area to which he limits his Khiṇjali was so named, nor has he shown the existence of any local tradition connecting, for any reasons, that tract with that name, as he has done in the case of Gandhatapāṭi, while identifying it with Gandharāḍi in the Baudh state (page 71). In the absence of any such links, I do not know why he should refuse my theory, which solves the riddle. Mr. Banerji has apparently no objection to it on philological grounds.

In the body of his article on page 85 there is a minor point with which Mr. Banerji has again expressed disagreement. I have identified Māchēhhaḍagrāma mentioned in 3 Bhañja

¹ 'Asti viśvambharāsārah kamalākula mandiram 1 Bhāgīrathī Narmma-dayormmadhye Dāhala maṇḍalam' 11 vide Malkāpuram inscription as quoted on p. 187 of J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIII (1927).

records with Māchchhgaon in the Cuttack district, which is nearest to the Ganjam district, where all the 3 charters mentioning that village were found. But since I happened to mention a Māchchhia khaṇḍa existing in the Baudh state, Mr. Banerji has ranged himself in its favour, apparently because it falls within the limited area he has assigned to Kṣiṇjali maṇḍala, in spite of the fact that there is no mention of Kṣiṇjali maṇḍala in the records in which Māchchhagrāma occurs. But even if that *maṇḍala* had been specifically stated I do not see how Mr. Banerji could prevent Kṣiṇjali *maṇḍala* from running out of the narrow bounds he fixes for it within Sonpur and Baudh states. In the Chakradharpur (Daspallā) charter of Netribhaṇja published in *J. B. O. R. S.*, volume VI, page 275, the village gifted therein is stated to be situated in the Ramalavva *riṣaya* of the Kṣiṇjali *maṇḍala* and this Ramalavva is again mentioned in Vidyādharaḥhaṇjadeva's charter (*Epi. Ind.*, Volume IX, page 271). It has been located in the Askā tāluka of the Ganjam district, which would show that the Askā taluka was included within the Kṣiṇjali maṇḍala. How could then Kṣiṇjali be confined within the boundaries of the modern Sonpur and Baudh states? I had carefully considered the claims of Māchchhiakhaṇḍa of the Baudh state before relegating Māchchhagrāma to the Cuttack district, and I see no cogent reason to change the view I then held, in spite of the great antiquarian's assertion against it.

HIRA LAL.

REVIEW OF BOOKS.

I.—Hindu Exogamy.

By S. V. Karandikar, M.A.

(Taraporewala. 1929) pp. 308. Price Rs. 6.

Students of Sociology will welcome this volume embodying painstaking researches into the origin and development of Exogamy in Hindu Society. From a complete absence of sept-exogamy in the ancient Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian societies, the absence of any reference in the Rigveda to sept-exogamy, the prevalence of *Sagotra* (as distinguished from *Sapinda*) marriage in ancient India, the learned author comes to the conclusion that the Aryans in India adopted exogamy in imitation of the non-Aryan races of the land. This is why in the early days of its introduction (which our author places in the period when the *Brāhmaṇas* were composed), the rule of exogamy was very loose and it was long before the Indo-Aryans could be "impressed with the idea that the violation of the rule of sept-exogamy was a serious sin." The author further opines that *Gotras* originally did not signify anything more than family names or surnames, that *pravaras* were various schools of learning and rituals and had no reference to descent, that *pravaras* had a real meaning when Vedic rituals were living institutions, that *gotras* or family names were arranged on the basis of the *pravaras*, and finally this *gaṇa* or group organisation of *gotras*, was in its early days a changeable factor, and the organization is not as ancient as it is popularly believed to be. Our author adduces reasons to conclude that the organisation was slowly completed during the period from the beginning of the *Brāhmaṇa* period to the end of the *Sūtra* period, and that even in the *Sūtra* times the rule of sept-exogamy was loosely followed by the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and "even the Brahmins had not fully imbibed the new cult." It was "after the thirteenth century that the rule

became so firmly established in Hindu Society that its breach became a very rare thing ; and consequently legislators after the thirteenth century prescribed rather lenient penances for *Sagotra* marriage."

In the last but one chapter, the author gives a short account (gleaned from the partially inaccurate and incomplete accounts of Risley, Crooke, Russel, Enthoven, Thurston, etc.) of the various exogamous divisions (eponymous and totemic) among Non-Brahman castes and Hinduised tribes.

In the last chapter (XII) the author discusses Hindu Exogamy in the light of Eugenics, and makes a strong plea for loosening the present exogamous restrictions of Hindu Society.

S. C. R.

II.—Munda-Magyar-Maori. An Indian link between the Antipodes. New tracks of Hungarian Origins.

By F. A. Uxbond.

(Luzac & Co. 1928) pp. XI, 432. With 7 plates. Price £1. 10s. net.

We are indebted to the researches of Pater Schmidt for the discovery that the Polynesian, Melanesian and Indonesian languages are all branches of one great linguistic family which he has termed the *Austronesian* and which, according to some writers, had its origin in Cambodia. A second great family of allied languages which Schmidt terms the *Austro-Asiatic* is traced by him in two sub-families, one sub-family extending from the Southern end of Further India, right through nearer India where it joins the second sub-family of races and languages which is spread over the whole breadth of India as far as the Western and Central regions of the Himalayas. The first sub-family of the *Austro-Asiatic* family comprises the Mon-Khmer and other closely related aboriginal languages surviving in the Khasi Hills of Assam, in certain hilly tracts of Upper Burma, in the coastal regions of the Gulf of Martaban in Lower Burma, in the Nicobar Islands, and in some parts of the Malaccan Peninsula. The second sub-family is represented by the *Munda* with its several branches. The entire class, composed of the two great families, the *Austronesian* and *Austro-Asiatic* (with its two sub-families the Mon-Khmer and the *Munda*) has been termed by Schmidt as *Austrie*. Thus the *Austrie* group embraces languages spread over the largest area in the world, extending from Easter Island near the South-American coast to Madagascar and from New Zealand up to the Punjab.

The erudite author of the book under review attempts to extend still further the territorial limits of the great *Austrie*

family to the other side of the hemisphere by tracing the possible connections of the Magyar dialects spoken by the Hungarians of the Carpathian basin with the Munda languages of India and the Polynesian languages of some of the Pacific Islands.

The expression 'Maori' is used by our author as a pure *terminus technicus* for all the Polynesian tribes who speak the same language (dialects) as the Maoris or natives of New Zealand.

By a comparison of cultural features and place names, languages and vocabularies, the author seeks to prove that the Munda languages appear to form the link connecting the Magyar with the "Maori". An examination of the data industriously collected by Mr. Uxbond will, it is apprehended, lead savants to be inclined to pass the verdict of "not proven".

All the same we are indebted to the author for his painstaking researches which suggest a fresh line of linguistic and ethnological research which may perhaps prove fruitful. We must not however omit to mention that a large number of words in the Santal Vocabulary selected by him for comparison are really borrowed or derived from Sanskrit or its derivative languages—Hindi or Bengali.

S. C. R.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on the 12th January 1930.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, Vice-President.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Mr. J. S. Armour.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 24th November 1929.

2. Elected the following new members :—

Rao Bahadur Vithaldas G. Trival, B.A., LL.B., Rajkot.

Kamta Prashad, Esq., B.A., Professor of Physics, Science College.

Y. J. Taraporewala, Esq. B.A., Professor of History, Patna College.

3. The monthly accounts for November and December 1929, having been submitted by the Honorary Treasurer and passed,

RESOLVED : that out of the closing balance of Rs. 5,678-3-7 the sum of Rs. 3,000 be placed on fixed deposit in three separate deposits of Rs. 1,000 each.

RESOLVED FURTHER : that the Honorary Treasurer be requested to classify the balance in hand at the end of each month.

4. Read and recorded letter no. 12771, dated the 29th November 1929, from the Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, sanctioning a grant of Rs. 1,000 towards the publication of the Buchanan Purnea Report.

5. Read and recorded letter no. 3466-P., dated the 15th December 1929, from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor, President of the Society, conveying His Excellency's approval of the appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James as Vice-President.

6. Arrears of subscription outstanding against the following deceased members of the Society were written off :—

	Rs.
Rao Bahadur D. B. Parsanis, Satara ...	... 30
Pandit S. N. Mazumdar Sastri, Patna ...	... 36
V. H. Jackson, Esq., Patna ...	... 12

7. Sanctioned the following items of expenditure in conformity with the instructions of the Auditor in his Audit Report no. 160 for 1929-30 :

- (a) Daily allowance in excess of 10 days' halt to the Mithila Pandit at 14 annas per diem on 5th January 1929, 8th May 1929, 14th June 1929, and 13th July 1929, for 23, 30, 31 and 18 days respectively. [*Vide* Audit Report for 1929-30. Part I, paragraph 1 (a).]
- (b) Daily allowance in excess of 10 days' halt to the Mithila Pandit at 12 annas per diem on 20th July 1927, 14th August 1927, 15th September 1927, 19th November 1927, 9th February 1928, and 11th December 1928, (at 14 annas per diem), for 30, 31, 31, 29, 20, 27, and 30 days respectively. [*Vide* Audit Report no. 285 of 1928-29, paragraph 3 (1).]
- (c) Excess allowance to the Mithila Pandit for conveyance hire on 28th October 1925 and 10th November 1925, 6 and 8 annas respectively, for mileage on 28th October 1925 and 12th February 1926, 4 and 8 annas respectively. (*Vide* Audit Report no. 113 of 1927-28, paragraph 23.)

(d) Increase in Mehtar's pay from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 monthly, with effect from March 1929. (*Vide* Audit Report for 1929-30, paragraph 6.)

(e) Re-investment of Rs. 9,405 in fixed deposit. [*Vide* Audit Report for 1929-30, paragraph 8 (ii).]

8. Sanctioned payment of £16-1-3 to Miss Anstey for work done in connection with the preparation of the Buchanan Shahabad Report.

9. Considered the date of the Annual General Meeting of the Society :

RESOLVED : that if possible the Annual General Meeting should be held in the last week of March 1930.

10. The Honorary General Secretary reported that daily allowance in excess of 10 days' halt had been sanctioned to the Mithila Pandit for 17, 20, 8, and 20 days in August, September, October, November, 1929, respectively.

11. Sanctioned an advance of Rs. 40 for preliminary expenses to the Honorary Secretary of the Reception Committee of the 6th All India Oriental Conference.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society held in the Society's office
on the 1st March 1930.**

PRESENT. :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James—Vice-President.
Mr. G. E. Fawcett.
Dr. A. Banerji Sastri.
Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.
Mr. D. N. Sen.
Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.
Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.
Mr. J. S. Armour.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 12th January 1930.

2. Elected the following new members : —

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice A. E. SCROOPE, B.A., Judge of the High Court, Patna.

Dr. S. C. Sarcar, M.A., PH. D., M.R.A.S., Professor of History, Patna College.

3. The monthly accounts for January and February 1930, were submitted by the Honorary Treasurer, and passed.

4. Passed the agenda paper for the Annual General Meeting to be held on the 28th March 1930.

RESOLVED : that the following be proposed as office-bearers and Members of the Council for the year 1930-31 :

President—His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar.-at-Law.

Secretary—Mr. J. S. Armour, M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Bar.-at-Law.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

EDITORIAL BOARD.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar.-at-Law,—Editor.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri, M.A. PH.D.,—Associate Editor.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar.-at-Law.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who are *ex-officio* members).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar.-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar.-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, BAR-AT-LAW.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri, B.A., B.L.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri, M.A., PH. D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, M.A., D.LITT.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. SEN, M.A.

5. Passed the Distribution list of Dr. Buchanan's Purnea Report.

6. Read and recorded a letter from Canon Tarafdar, Bhagalpur.

7. The Honorary General Secretary reported that he had sanctioned excess daily allowance to the Mithila Pandit for periods of 13 days and one day in December 1929 and January 1930, respectively.

8. Considered certain Library matters.

RESOLVED : that Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri be requested to complete the Catalogue.

RESOLVED FURTHER : that Messrs. Mitter's bill of Rs. 1,400 for additional Book-cases be paid from the Mayurbhanj Library Fund.

RESOLVED FURTHER : that the amount of Rs. 2,600 from the above Mayurbhanj Fund be placed on fixed deposit for a period of six months.

J. S. ARMOUR,

Honorary General Secretary.

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on the 28th March 1930, in the Wheeler Senate House, Patna, the President of the Society, His Excellency Sir Hugh Stephenson, presiding.

1. Mr. J. S. Armour, Honorary Secretary, presented the Annual Report of the Society for 1929-30, which was taken as read.

2. Mr. D. N. Sen presented the Annual Statement of Accounts for 1929-30, which was taken as read.

3. On the motion of Mr. P. C. Manuk the following were elected officers and members of the Council for the year 1930-31 :—

President—His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James,
M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Secretary—Mr. J. S. Armour, M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Bar-at-Law.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law, Editor.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., Associate Editor.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who are *ex-officio* members)—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.J.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, Bar-at-Law.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Choudhuri, B.A., B.L.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, M.A., D. LITT.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

4. On the motion of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal the Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga was elected a Vice-Patron of the Society.

5. The Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, reviewed the work of the Society during the past year.

6. His Excellency the President introduced the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, who addressed the Society on the subject :—
“ Ramadeva Raya II, an unknown Emperor of Vijayanagara ”.

7. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

J. S. ARMOUR,
Honorary Secretary.

Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Annual Report for 1929-30.

I.—MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of ordinary members (and subscribers to the Journal) on the 31st December 1928 was 168. In the course of the ensuing twelve months the Society lost two of its ordinary members by death and one by resignation, and five subscribers to the Journal, a total loss of eight. On the other hand, the names of ten new members and of seven new subscribers to the Journal were enrolled. The total number of members and subscribers on the roll on the 31st December 1929 was accordingly 177. Among the life members of the Society one has been added and one has died. By the death of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Ramavatar Sarma on the 3rd April 1929 the Society and the Council have suffered the loss of one of their most active and distinguished office-bearers. A sympathetic Obituary Notice, by the Pandit's colleague, Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri, will be found at page 291 of Vol. XV of the Journal. The number of honorary members and life-members on the roll on the 31st December 1929 was 13 and 15 respectively, making a grand total of 205.

II.—JOURNAL.

Volume XV of the Society's Quarterly Journal (704 pages) was published during the period under review; and Part I (the March number) of Vol. XVI is in the Press. Vol. XV, Parts 3 and 4 (a double issue), contains 298 (27 *plus* 261) pages of Dr. Buchanan's Journal kept during his Survey of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810-11. It has been edited from the Buchanan Mss. in the India Office Library, with Introduction, Notes, Maps, and a plan, by C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.).

Some excellent photographs were published in the Volume, including two of the Patna Museum and offices of the Society,

four plates and a plan to illustrate Professor R. D. Banerji's article on the Antiquities of the Baudh State, and two copper plates, Devanandadeva and Shivakaradeva.

The Editorial Board consists of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Dr. A. P. Panerji Sastri, and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James. Professor R. D. Banerji resigned during the year on account of ill-health.

III.—MEETINGS.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 16th March 1929 in the Wheeler Senate House. His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, President of the Society, presided. After the transaction of formal business the Vice-President, the Hon'ble Sir Courtney Terrell, reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar then addressed the Society. The subject of his learned address, which was illustrated by lantern slides, was "The Temples of Mount Abu".

A visit from Dr. G. G. B. Hunter, Professor of History, Morris College, Nagpur, was anticipated in January last when he was to address the Society on the subject of his recent research work at Mohenjo-daro, but unfortunately the permission of the Archæological Department of the Government of India was not forthcoming.

Meetings of the Council, elected at the last Annual General Meeting, were held on the 4th August, 6th September, 21st November, 1929, 12th January and 1st March, 1930.

IV.—LIBRARY.

The book-cases in the Society's Library being now full, two walls of the Council Room have been lined with additional sectional-book-cases at a cost of Rs. 1,400; and there is now ample space for new books. During the year, 531 books (658 volumes), of which 202 were Sanskrit and Pali works, were added to the library. Of that total 58 were presented, while 143 were obtained by exchange and 330 by purchase. On the 31st December 1929 the Library contained 4,812

volumes, as compared with 4,154 at the end of the previous year. Out of the Mayurbhanj donation to the Library the sum of Rs. 1,487-9-5 was spent on books during the year.

Two manuscripts have been purchased. One is Vidvan-manorama, an original manuscript from Mithila, the other being Namalinganusasanam, which is a copy of a manuscript in the Madras Oriental Manuscript Library.

The thanks of the Society are due to Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri, who has agreed to revise the Library Catalogue and bring it up to date.

V.--SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS.

The search for manuscripts proceeded steadily throughout the year under the supervision of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri. Pandit Vishnu Lal Sastri was employed in the Bhagalpur district and catalogued 797 manuscripts, of which some 25 are important manuscripts, and 10 judgments. He also brought to light some inscriptions. The Oriya Pandit worked mostly in the Dhenkanal district, cataloguing 557 Mss. and discovering several interesting copper-plate grants. He has been transferred recently to Baramba in order to examine some important private collections there. Only unpublished and little known Mss. have been recorded as a rule; and of these a considerable number have never before been described in any catalogue. Manuscripts which are well-known or have already been published are not catalogued unless they present striking variations or other features of particular interest.

The services of the Oriya Pandit are available up to the 30th September 1930, on which date the Government Grant of Rs. 1,020 a year for his maintenance expires. It is confidently hoped, however, that private benefactors will come forward and so enable the Society to continue to employ him on work which is so clearly valuable.

The Society still awaits similar benefactions on the part of some enlightened patron or patrons, by whose financial aid

it may undertake the publication of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Orissa. This work has been ready for the press for over a year.

VI.—GENERAL.

Two important publications issued from the press during the year under the auspices of the Society. One was the *Purnea Report*, an Account of the District of Purnea in 1809-10, by Dr. Francis Buchanan, edited by the late V. H. Jackson, Esq., Indian Educational Service, who unfortunately did not live to see the fruition of his labours. The other was the *Bhagalpur Journal*, to which reference has been already made, which was edited by C. E. A. W. Oldham, Esq., for the Society and published in Volume XV of the Journal. It is hoped that the public will support generously these attempts of the Society to put in permanent and accessible form the authentic original records of the Province.

The Society acknowledges gratefully the generous grant by Government of Rs. 1,000 towards the publication of the *Purnea Report*.

It acknowledges equally its indebtedness to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, Vice-President, who is editing the *Patna-Gara Report* in the same series. The preparation of the manuscript of the *Shahabad Report* is also in progress.

By the transfer to Aligarh University of Mr. E. A. Horne, the Society has lost a tried and valued office-bearer, whose services for several years as its Honorary Secretary cannot easily be over-estimated; and the Council has acknowledged gratefully its appreciation of the loyal and ungrudging work he did. At about the same time, too, the Society was unfortunate enough to lose its Vice-President, the Hon'ble Sir Courtney Terrell, who was obliged to resign his office through increasing pressure of other duties. In the circumstances it is a matter for congratulation that so celebrated an antiquarian as the Hon'ble Mr. Justice James was at hand and willing to accept the Vice-Presidentship. Another loss to be deplored is that of the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. D. N. Sen, who

resigns this year, leaving behind him a long record of loyal service. He will be succeeded by Mr. Sham Babadur, Bar-at-law.

The Society has also lost a generous and enlightened vice-patron through the death of the Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja Sir Rameshwara Singh, G.C.I.E., K.B.E., of Darbhanga, who with admirable public spirit undertook the cost of the publication of the whole series of Catalogues of Mithila Mss.

The Sixth All-India Oriental Conference will meet in Patna in December of this year under the auspices of the Society. A Reception Committee has already been formed, with Dr. Hari Chand Sastri as its Honorary Secretary.

Exchange of publications has been arranged with the following :—

“An der Redaction der Orientalistischen Literature Zeitung,” Leipzig, Germany.

“Indian Historical Quarterly,” Calcutta.

“Connemara Public Library,” Egmore, Madras.

“Oriental Institute,” Prague, Czechoslovakia.

VII.—FINANCE.

The accounts of the Society for the period January 1929 to August 1929 were audited by the Examiner of Local Accounts in September last.

The annual statement of accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer.

J. S. ARMOUR,

12th March 1930.

Honorary Secretary.

Statement of Accounts from April 1929 to February 1930-

A. The actuals for 1928-29 showed a closing balance of Rs. 5,597-14-3. With the donations transferred to fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 10,649-15-9, the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 16,247-14-0 at the end of 1928-29.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 28th February 1930, the current account closing balance was Rs. 492-10-9. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 15,424-6-0 which gives a total of Rs. 15,917-0-9.

The position of the Society is, therefore, financially sound.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realised up to the 28th February, 1930, amounted to Rs. 2,906-13-10. Up to the 28th February, 1929, the realised amount was Rs. 2,554-15-0. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 2,000. Our income from subscriptions is already better than the budget estimate by more than Rs. 900, which is satisfactory.

Our realisations from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 749-15-0 up to the end of February 1930. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 1,031-3-0.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 235-2-6 up to February 1930 which has been taken into current account.

Large balances out of budget allotments are again a feature of the year which is drawing to a close.

D. N. SEN,

9th March 1929.

Honorary Treasurer.

Actuals up to February 23, 1930.**INCOME.**

	Actuals.			Revised Budget.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Subscriptions	2,906	13	10	2,000	0	0
Sale of Journal	733	3	0	900	0	0
Miscellaneous (a)	5,476	10	3	...		
Postage Recovered	34	3	0	...		
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts.	13	12	0	...		
Sale of Buchanan Purnea Report	...			500	0	0
Government Grant	6,820	0	0	6,820	0	0
<i>Opening Balance.</i>						
Hathwa Fund	1,885	14	3	4,498	11	4½
Darbhangha Fund	534	0	3	3,146	13	1½
Mayurbhanj "	3,049	8	4	8,473	14	4
General Balance	128	7	5	1,511	0	10
Grand Total	21,585	8	4	27,850	7	8

(a) This includes Rs. 5,460-12-3 received from Allahabad Bank (Fixed Deposit released).

EXPENDITURE.

	Actuals.			Budget.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment	1,149	6	9	1,260	0	0
Mithila Pandit	1,132	3	6	1,310	0	0
Oriya Pandit	702	4	5	1,020	0	0
Telephone	188	12	0	225	0	0
Paper for Journal	342	3	0	300	0	0
Printing Charges	3,313	14	8	4,000	0	0
Postage	285	3	3	425	0	0
Stationery	60	14	9	60	0	0
Library	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
Electrical charges	347	5	0	360	0	0
Out of Hathwa Fund	217	9	6	4,000	0	0
Out of Darbhanga Fund	25	14	0	2,000	0	0
Out of Mayurbhanj "	2,151	10	3	8,473	14	4
Miscellaneous (o)	10,175	8	6	300	0	0
Total	21,092	13	7	24,733	14	4
Closing Balance (b)	492	10	9	3,116	9	4
Grand Total	21,585	8	4	27,850	7	8

(a) This includes Rs. 10,000 in Fixed Deposit.

	Rs. a. p.		
	Rs.	a.	p.
(b) Closing Balance Mayurbhanj Fund	67	2	4
Darbhangha	35	11	6
General Balance	389	12	11
Grand Total	492	10	9
General Balance in Fixed Deposit	2,242	4	0
Current account	389	12	11
Grand Total	2,632	0	11

D. N. SEN,
Honorary Treasurer.

11th March 1930.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanagari.	Roman.	Devanagari.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄	ब	b
लृ	l	भ	bh
लृ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ल	l
च	ch	· (Anusvāra)	m̄
छ	chh	' (Anunāsika)	m̄
ज	j	: (Visarga)	h̄
झ	jh	× (Jihvāmūlīya)	h̄
ञ	ñ	) ( (Upadhmanīya)	h̄
ट	ṭ	§ (Avagraha)	̣
ठ	ṭh	Udātta	—
ड	d	Svarita	˘
ढ	dh	Anudātta	˘
ण	ṇ		

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY ON 31st MARCH 1930.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Foucher, Monsieur A ...	1919	Professor University of Paris, Paris.
2	Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D.	1916	Trinity College, Cambridge, England.
3	Gait, Sir E.A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1920	The Croft, Park Hill, Ealing, London.
4	Grierson, Sir George, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1916	Rath Farnham, Camberley, Surrey, England.
5	Haddon, Alfred C., M.A., SC.D., F.R.S.	1916	3, Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
6	Jacobi, Dr. Hermann ...	1925	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany.
7	Jolly, Prof. J. ...	1925	Professor of Comparative Philology, Wurzburg.
8	Konow, Dr. Sten ..	1920	Ethnographic Museum, Oslo, Norway.
9	Levi, M. Sylvain ...	1919	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg.
10	Oldham, C, E.A.W., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1926	21, Courtfield Road, London, S. W. 7.
11	Sastri, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad, M.A., C.I.E.	1928	26, Pataldanga Street, Calcutta.
12	Thomas, F. W., M.A., Hon. Ph.D., F.R.S.	1919	Boden Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford.
13	Walsh, E. H. C., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1919	C/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9 Pall Mall, London, S. W.

LIFE MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year. of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Das, Mr. P. R., Bar-at-Law...	1918	Patna.
2	Deo, Raja Dharmidhar Indra	1917	Feudatory Chief of Bonai State, P. O, Bonaigarh (Orissa).
3	Deo, Raja Narayana Prasad...	1929	Ruling Chief of Baudh State.
4	Dharmapala, The Rev. Anagari- rika.	1918	4-A, College Square, Calcutta.
5	Jalan, Rai Bahadur Radha- krishna.	1918	Patna City.
6	Maharaja Bahadur Guru Mahadeva Asram Prasad Sahi.	1920	Hathwa (Saran).
7	Prasad, Mr. Ajit, M.A., LL.B.	1928	Judge, High Court, Bikaner.
8	Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo ...	1918	Kanika (Orissa).
9	Shah, Mr. Hiralal Amritlal	1918	Princess Street, Champai Build- ings, 2nd floor, Bombay.
10	Shahi, Lieut. Madhavaswa- rendra.	1924	Manjha, District Saran.
11	Singh, Raja Baghunandan Prasad.	1924	Monghyr.
12	Singh, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad.	1916	Arrah.
13	Singh, Raja Radhikaraman Prasad, M.A.	1916	Surajpura (Shahabad).
14	Singh, Maharaja Bahadur Keshava Prasad.	1916	Dumraon (Shahabad).
15	Sinha, Mr. Mahendra Prasad	1928	Assistant Settlement Officer, Cuttack.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
A			
1	Acharya, P., B.Sc. ...	1928	Senior Archaeological Scholar, Mayurbhanj State.
2	Ahmad, Hafiz Shamsuddin, M.A.	1927	Patna College, Patna.
3	Aiyangar, R. S. Dr. S. Krishna-swami, M.A., Ph.D.	1916	1, East Wheldon Street, Mylapore, Madras.
4	Aiyangar, R. B. K. V. Ranga-swami.	1915	Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, Travancore.
5	Armour, Prof. J. S., M. A. ...	1926	Patna College, Patna.
B			
6	Banerji, Prof R. D. ...	1924	Hindu University, Benares.
7	Batheja, Prof. H. R., M.A., I.E.S.	1920	Patna College, Patna.
8	Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R. ...	1924	35, Ballygunge, Circular Road, Calcutta.
9	Bhattacharya, Benoytosh ...	1924	Director, Oriental Institute, Kothi Buildings, Baroda.
10	Bhattacharya, Prof. Tarapada, M.A.	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
11	Bhide, H. B. ...	1918	Dewanpur Road. Navapark, Bhawanagar.
12	Bodding, Rev. P. O. ...	1918	Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas.
13	Bose, Phanindra Nath ...	1928	Nalanda College, Bihar Sharif.
C			
14	Carr, Paul Roland ...	1928	3923, Packard Street, Long Island City, N. Y., U.S.A.
15	Chakladar, Haran Chandra, M.A.	1916	28-4, Sri Mohan Lane, Kalighat, Calcutta.
16	Chaudhuri, G. K. ...	1928	Ballipur P. O., Darbhanga.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
17	Chaudhuri, Tarapada, M.A. ...	1927	58, Camden Square, N. W. I., London.
18	Christian, H. D. ...	1920	Sundargarh, via Jharsuguda, B. N. Ry.
19	Coomaraswamy, Dr. Anand K.	1923	Museum of fine Arts, Boston, Mass, U. S. A.
D			
20	Das, Kali Prasad ...	1929	Barh, District Patna.
21	Das, Madhusudan, B.A., B.L.	1918	Bhubanpur, P. O. Nimapara, Puri.
22	Das, U. K. ...	1918	Srinath Mills, 10, Srinath Das Lane, Calcutta.
23	Datta, Kalikinkar, M.A. ...	...	Post Graduate Scholar, Ranighat Hostel, Patna.
24	Dayal, Shiveshwar, M.A., B.L.	1920	Vakil, Patna High Court.
25	Deo, Maharaja Sir Bir Mitrodaya Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.	1920	The Palace, Sonapur.
26	Deo, Tekait Nripendra Narayan Singh.	1928	Seraikela State, Singhbhum.
27	Deshpande, R. S. G. K. ...	1927	Bishramdham, Gymkhana P. O., Poona.
28	Dhruva, A. B., M.A. ...	...	Principal, Hindu University, Benares.
29	Diskalkar, D. B., M.A. ...	1920	Curator, Museum of Archaeology, Muttra.
30	Duke, W. V., M.A., I.E.S. ...	1920	Principal, G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.
E			
Nil.			

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
F			
31	Fawcus, G. E., M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.	1916	Director of Public Instruction, Patna.
32	Filgate, T. R., C.I.E. ...	1915	C/o. Messrs. Grindlay and Co. 54, Parliament Street, London, S. W. I.
G			
33	Ghosh, Adhar Chandra, B. Sc.	1927	Assistant Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
34	Ghosh, Rai Sahib Manoranjan, M.A.	1918	Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
35	Godbole, Y. A., I.C.S. ...	1920	General Manager, Banaili Raj, Bhagalpur.
36	Gupta, Shiva Prasad ..	1918	Nagva House, Benares City.
H			
37	Heras, Rev. H., S. J., M.A.	1927	St. Xavier's College, Bombay,
38	Hock, Right Rev. L. Van, S.J.	1921	Bishop of Ranchi.
39	Horne, E. A., M.A., I.E.S. ...	1916	Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh.
40	Hussain, Saiyid Muhammad, M.L.C.	1924	Dariapur, P. O. Bankipur, Patna.
I			
41	Imam, Nawab Shamsul Ulema Saiyid Imdad.	1915	Neora, Patna.
J			
42	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Gopinath Harichandan, Raja Bahadur, M.B.A. S., M.B.D.M.	1924	P. O. Tekkali, Ganjam.
43	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Lakshminarayana Harichandan, Raja Bahadur.	1929	Ditto.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
44	James, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J.F.W., I.C.S.	1923	High Court, Patna.
45	Jaruhar, Rameshwar Prasad .	1925	Kadamkuan, Patna.
46	Jayaswal, K. P., M.A., Bar-at-Law.	1915	Advocate, Patna High Court.
47	Jha, Lakshmikant, B.L. ...	1925	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
48	Jinjal, Srinarayan Lal, B.A.	1928	Patna College, Patna.
K			
49	Khan, K.B. Sarfaraz Hussain	1916	Khwajekalan, Patna City.
50	Khanna, Vinayak Lal ...	1924	Hindi Library, 12, Shib Thakur Lane, Calcutta.
51	Khuda Bakhsh, S. ...	1920	Superintendent of Police, Daltonganj.
52	Kimura, R. ...	1920	22, Wellesley Second Lane, Calcutta.
53	Kuraishi, Muhammad Hamid, B.A.	1923	Assistant Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.
L			
54	Lall, Rai Bahadur Hira ...	1918	Retired Deputy Commissioner, Katui, C. P.
55	Lall, Rai Sahib Bihari ...	1920	Prime Minister, Chhuikadan State, Via Dongargarh, C. P.
56	Lall, Raja P. C. ...	1924	Raja of Nazarganj, Purnea City.
57	Lambert, H., M.A., I.E.S. ...	1920	Patna.
58	Law, Bimalacharan ...	1921	43, Kailash Bose Street, Calcutta.

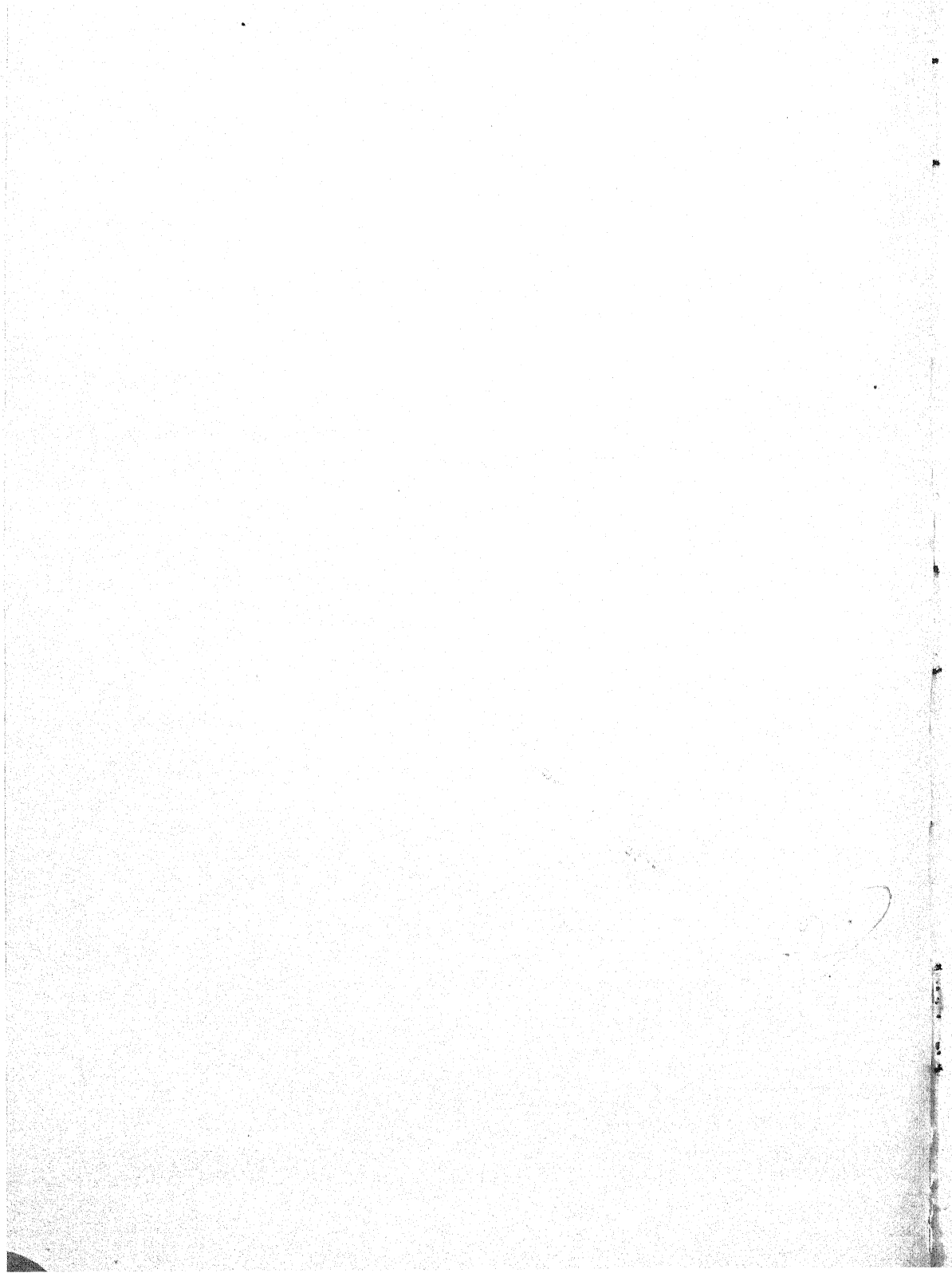
No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
59	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., Ph. D.	1924	96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
	M		
60	Mackenzie, W. ...	1916	Superintendent, Government Printing, Gulzarbagh, Patna.
61	Macpherson, Hon'ble Justice, Mr. T. S., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1916	Patna.
62	McPherson, Sir H., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1915	C/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co. Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S. W. 1.
63	Mahapatra, Chaudhuri Bhagvat Prasad Samantarai.	1924	P. O. Bhadrak, Balasore.
64	Mahashaya Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray.	1915	Lakshannath, Balasore.
65	Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan.	1920	Muzaffarpur.
66	Majumdar, Dr. R. C. ...	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
67	Majumdar, Bimanbehari ...	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
68	Malaviya, Pandit Balagovinda	1924	Patna City.
69	Manuk, P. C., Bar-at-law ...	1920	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
70	Mehta, N. C., I.C.S. ...	1927	Azamgarh.
71	Metropolitan Chaplain ...		
72	Miller, Sir T. Dawson, Kt. ...	1919	11, King's Bench Walk Temple, E. C. London.
73	Mishra, Pandit Janardan, M.A.	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
74	Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L. ...	1920	D. J. College, Monghyr.
75	Mukerjee, Dr. Radhakumud, M.A., Ph. D.	1917	Lucknow University, Lucknow.
76	Mukerji, Prof. A. ...	1929	10, Bol. Guozdnikovsky, Apt. 202X, Moscow.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
77	Mullick, Sir B. K., kt. ... N	1921	Patna.
78	Nabar, Puranchand, M.A., B.L.	1917	1/8, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.
79	Noor, K. B. Khwaja Muham-mad. O Nil.	1915	Gaya.
	P		
80	Pandeya, Sahadeva Narayan, M.A.	1925	S. I. Schools, Madhepura, Bhagalpur.
81	Pantulu, J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L.	1915	Mukteswaram, Tottermundi P. O, Godavari District.
82	Pantulu Garu Srinivas Rao, M.A., L.T., M.R.EY.	1928	Principal, Hindu College, Masulipatam.
83	Patnaik, Sudhakar ...	1921	Sub-Deputy Collector and Assistant Settlement Officer, R. S. Camp Majhikora, P. O. Balikuda, Cuttack.
84	Peppe, A. T. ...	1915	Manager, Chota Nagpur Raj, Ranchi.
85	Perier, Most Rev. F. J., S.J. ...	1915	Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta.
86	Petter, A. B. ...	1915	Subdivisional Officer, Samastipur.
87	Prasad, Biswanath, M.A. ...	1928	C/o Babu Tribeni Prasad, B.L., Vakil, Chapra.
88	Prasad, Hon'ble Justice Sir Jwala, kt.	1916	High Court, Patna.
89	Prasad, Kamta ..	1930	Professor of Physics, Science College.
90	Prasad, Krishnadeva, M.A., B.L.	1929	Langertoli, Patna.

No.	Name of member.	Year. of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
91	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L. ...	1926	Pleader, Chapra.
92	Prasad, Nageswar, M.A., B.L.	1928	Vakil, Patna.
93	Prasad, Surya Prasad Mahajan.	1918	Manulal Library, Gaya.
	Q		
	Nil.		
	R		
94	Ramdas, G., B.A. ...	1924	Headmaster, Board High School, Jeypur, Vizagapatam.
95	Ranganathan, S. R. ...	1927	Librarian, Madras University, Madras.
96	Ratnakar, Jagannath Das ...	1928	Shivalaya Ghat, Benares.
97	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal	1915	Patna.
98	Ray, Rai Bahadur S. C., M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
99	Richards, F. J. ...	1924	6, Lexham Gardens, London, W. 8.
100	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna ...	1925	Dhaulpura Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
101	Ross, Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. L.	1917	Patna.
	S		
102	Sabanis, R. V. ...	1925	Librarian, Bombay University, Bombay.
103	Sahay, Shyamnandan, B.A. ...	1928	Sahay Bhavan, Muzaffarpur.
104	Sarkar, B. N., B.A., C.E. ...	1926	Ghoramara P. O., District Rajsbahi, Bengal.
105	Sarkar, Ganpati... ..	1926	69, Beliaghatta Road, Calcutta.
106	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S., (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Sarkaravas, Darjeeling.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
107	Sarkar, Dr. Subimal, C. ...	1930	Professor of History, Patna, College.
108	Seroope, Mr. Justice A. E. ...	1930	High Court, Patna.
109	Sen, B. C., I.C.S., (Retd.) ...	1915	C/o. R. C. Sen, Esq., Electrical Engineer, Dhanbad.
110	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.)	1916	Principal, B. N. College, Patna.
111	Seppings, E. H. L. ...	1916	57E, Lower Kemmendine Road, P. O. Kemmendine, Rangoon.
112	Sham Bahadur ...	1928	Bar-at-Law, Patna.
113	Shastri, Dr. A. Banerji, M.A., Ph. D.	1923	Patna College, Patna.
114	Shastri, Dr. Harichand, D. LITT., I.E.S.	1918	Ditto.
115	Shastri, I. D. Durgadatti ...	1920	Principal, Sanskrit College, Muzaffarpur.
116	Shastri, Prof. Gokulchand ...	1928	Sri-Chandra College, Khatmandu, Bagbazar, Nepal.
117	Shaw, Parmanand ...	1926	Daldary Bazar, Dinapore Cantt.
118	Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L.	1915	Asst. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Patna.
119	Singh, Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan.	1916	Amawan, District Patna.
120	Singh, Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand.	1915	Banaili, Purnea.
121	Singh, Rai Rajendralal Bariha Bahadur.	1916	Barsambar Padampur, Sambalpur.
122	Singh Chandhuri, Rai Bahadur Ramgopal.	1915	Chandhuri Tola, P. O. Mahendru, Patna.
123	Singh, R. B. Ramranavijaya...	1924	K. V. Press, Patna.
124	Singh, Sarangadhar, M.A., B.L.	1925	Ditto.
125	Sinha, Mahendrakishore, B.A., B.L.	1926	Taluka Madhob, Dist. Nandel, Hyderabad, Deccan,

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
126	Sinha, S., Bar.-at-law ...	1915	Patna.
127	Sullivan, the Rt. Rev. Dr. S. J.	1929	Lord Bishop, Patna.
128	Surya Narayan, B.L. ...	1924	Translator, High Court, Patna.
129	Svarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Patna.
130	Syed Muhammad ...	1924	Makhaniakuan, P.O. Bankipur, Patna.
T			
131	Tagore, K. N., B.A. ...	1926	5-1, Baranashi Ghosh's Street, Calcutta.
132	Tarafdar, Rev. S. K. ...	1915	Principal, C. M. S. High School, Bhagalpur.
133	Taraporewala, Y. J. ...	1930	Professor of History, Patna College.
134	Terrell, The Hon'ble Sir Courtney, Kt.	1928	Chief Justice, High Court, Patna.
135	Tripathi, Devadatta ...	1916	Patna College, Patna.
136	Trival, Rao Bahadur V. G., LL. B.	1929	Watson Museum, Rajkot.
U			
137	Urdhwaseshi, W. G., M.A. ...	1925	52, Krishnapura, Indore, C.I.
V			
138	Vidyalankar, Jaya Chandra ...	1929	Hindi Vidyapitha, P. O. Dighaghat, Patna.
139	Vogel, Dr. J., Ph. D. ...	1920	Noordeindsplein, 40 Leiden, Holland.



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[PART II.

LEADING ARTICLES

I.—RAMA DEVA RAYA II

An Unknown Emperor of Vijayanagara

By the Rev. H. Heras, S. J.

One of the Emperors of Vijayanagara most ignored by modern Indian Historians is the young son of Raṅga II, the unfortunate prince, who was forced to commit suicide by the treacherous Jagga Rāya during the civil war of 1614-1618.

The only thing we knew about this Emperor after the publication of Sewell's *Forgotten Empire* was that he was the "middle son" of Raṅga II¹. Mr. Sewell himself mistakes his name when he states: "This second son was probably Raṅga IV"². We know now that his name was Rāma. Moreover, misled by some inscriptions the said author puts five Emperors between the end of the civil war and the year 1629 :

Raṅga	...	...	...	...	1619 A. D.
Rāma	...	..	...	...	1620, 1622.
Raṅga	...	...	...	...	1623
Veṅkaṭa	...	...	...	...	1623
Rāma	...	..	...	...	1629 ³

¹ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 231.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 233.

Documents at our disposal allow us to state at present that during all this period there was only one sovereign, and this was Rāma.

The materials now available, coming both from indigenous sources and from Portuguese, English and Dutch Archives, permit us to reconstruct the history of this Emperor's reign, with much more accuracy than in the beginning of this century.

An apocryphal prophecy, written according to Col. Mackenzie in 1630, says that young Prince Rāma, when ascending the throne, took the honorific name of Rāma Dēva Rāya.¹ Such is, indeed, the name given him in the inscriptions. In some of them however this name is read together with all his imperial titles :—Rājādhirāja Rāja-paramēśvara-vīra pratāpa Vīra-Rāma Dēva-mahārāyalayya².

As regards his capital several of these inscriptions and grants may create some confusion. They state simply that Rāma Dēva Rāya was ruling at Penukoṇḍa. So say, for instance, two inscriptions of 1620³, one of 1622⁴, one of 1624⁵, and another of 1626.⁶ But Penukoṇḍa is only mentioned out of respect for that ancient fortress which was for a time the capital of the Empire, after Tirumala's retreat from Vijayanagara. No other record testifies either to a sojourn of Rāma II at Penukoṇḍa or even to a passing visit. In the beginning of his reign he was busy in wars in the Tamil country, and towards the close of it, in 1629, when these wars were over, we find him at Vellore, his capital.⁷

The Kuniyur plates of Venkata III inform us that Śrī Rāṅga II "begat sons who possessed great modesty, were full

¹ Campbell, *Teloogoo Grammar*, p. XI, note.

² *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mr., 75.

³ 11 of 1896; Sewell, II, pp. 27-28, 187.

⁴ Sewell, I, p. 87.

⁵ 53 of 1915.

⁶ Rangacharya, I, p. 4, 19.

⁷ Letter from the Viceroy to the King of Portugal, February 8, 1630, in *Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo I, Pangim*. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty, A. S. of I., 1911-12*, p. 191, supposes that his capital was Chandragiri.

of compassion, learned and famous'¹. These praiseworthy qualities and virtues must specially be applied to Rāma II, who was the only surviving son of Raṅga II after the pitiful massacre of Jagga Rāya. Accordingly the same plates say that "the glorious King Rāma Rāya, who was beyond the reach of the eloquence of the best poets, shone for a very long time, as the kaustubha among the gems produced from the sea"². A grant of Narasa Wodeyer of Mysore, 1639, agrees with this eulogy when stating that Rāma "ruled the earth with glory, splendid as the sun"³; and the Utsur grant of Raṅga III confirms this statement, when affirming that Rāma is "beyond the reach of the poetry of the best of the poets"⁴. In fact, besides the other qualities that made him an excellent ruler, he seems to have been himself a poet, as a grant of 1645 testifies⁵. Moreover, the *Rāmarājīyam* says that he performed many *danas* (gifts), as laid down in the Śāstras⁶. The other statement of the same poem that he 'ruled the Empire in peace'⁷ sounds like an empty repetition of what was often said of other kings. His reign began with a bloody civil war and wars continued almost uninterruptedly while he sat on the throne.

Nevertheless we have inscriptions from the beginning of his reign and coming from almost all the corners of the Empire, in which he is generally acknowledged as the lawful Rājādhirāja of Vijayanagara. Early in 1617 an inscription in the Kolar district recording a grant gives Rāma II the usual imperial titles 'Rājādhirāja Rāja-paramēśvara vīra-pratāpa vīra Rāma Dēva-mahārālayya' and states that he was ruling the kingdom of the world. The grantor is one Chakiwala, the agent of the Mahānāyakāchārya Gummi-Nayini Kadirapa Nayini Kṛṣṇappa

¹ Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 253, v. 22.

² *Ibid.*, v. 23.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 198.

⁴ Utsur grant of Ranga III, Butterworth, I, p. 46, v. 26.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60.

⁶ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 244.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Nayini¹. In 1619 one Raghunata Dēva Mahārāya of Coimbatore acknowledges the sovereignty of 'Vīra Rāmadēva Mahārāya, while giving the village of Balargapore to the people². One year later Raghunathadēva Mahārāja of Uraiyūr (near Trichinopoly), who calls himself the agent of the Nāyak of Madura, mentions Vīra Rāmadēva of Penukoṇḍa as his suzerain³. In the same year Raghunatha Nāyakar and Vīra-Rāghava Nāyakar both of Chingleput district acknowledge Vīra Rāmadēva Mahārāyalu⁴. The same Raghunatha Nāyakar in the following year 1621 continues in his allegiance to the paramount sovereign⁵. In the same year a grantor of Shimoga mentions Rāma II while making the grant⁶. Similar is the case of another grant made in the Kurnul district in 1622⁷. Also in this year the two villages of Singankonḍa and Battapatti, in the district of Kocharlakota, were given as a gift to the Chenakēsava temple at Venkatādrinagara by Malla, son of Virappa and grandson of Malla, of the Ravela family 'in the reign of Rāmadēva of Vijayanagara'⁸. In 1623 'when Rāmadēva Rāyalayya ... was ruling the kingdom of the world' Kumāra Immadi-Jagadēva-Rāya, the minister of Rana-Peda-Jagadēva-Rāya of Chennapatna, in Mysore, made a grant for the decorations and illuminations of the Viṣṇuvardhanagotra.⁹ In 1624 Bontala Nagi-Setti of Nagaluti, Kurnul district, acknowledges Virapratāpa Vīra-Rāmadēva-Mahārāya while building a gopura of the Virabhadra temple at Langalunti with the permission of Timma Nayudu, who was then ruling over that country¹⁰. In 1625 a Nāyak of the Chingleput district

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, X, Bp., 75.

² Rangacharya, I, p. 562, 395.

³ Sewell, II, pp. 27-28, 187; Rangacharya, I, p. 526, 73.

⁴ Rangacharya, I, p. 468, 1211.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 467, 1195.

⁶ Kielhorn, *Inscriptions*, p. 91, 540.

⁷ Sewell, I, p. 87.

⁸ 285 of 1905.

⁹ *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 182.

¹⁰ 53 of 1915.

records his obeissance to Rāma II¹. In 1626 a grant was made at Anumpalli, Anantapur district, 'in the reign of Vira Rāmadeva at Penukonḍa². In 1627 another grant was made in the Tunkur district, when Rāma was seated on the jewel throne in Vidyānagari³'. More submissions to Emperor Rāma are found in the Nellore district in 1628⁴, and in the Kolar district in 1629⁵. Another of the same year may be read on an old Vishnu Temple near Dindigal, Madura district⁶.

Nevertheless we know that there were some petty chiefs in the Empire who did not acknowledge Rāma Rāya as their legitimate sovereign. Thomas Mills and John Milward, two servants of the East India Company, wrote from Pulicat on November 6th, 1622, that there was no peace in the kingdom as yet "until the kinge be established, which is yet younge; besides he is held in small esteeme as yett⁷". Naturally the young monarch could not tolerate this lack of submission among his feudatory chiefs. The Portuguese Viceroy, writing to his sovereign on February 8th, 1630, says that Rāma was "a very ambitious youth",⁸ whose aim undoubtedly was to restore the old glory of the Empire.

That was the reason of his continuous campaigns from the time of his accession to the throne till the end of his reign. In fact the Portuguese Viceroy, in the above quoted letter, says that Rāma II "was then in camp with an army of three hundred thousand men and of many elephants and horses to continue his wars"⁹.

¹ 616 of 1904.

² Rangacharya, I, p. 4, 19.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Mi, 32.

⁴ Butterworth, I, pp. 198-202.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, X, Ct, 52; Mb, 62.

⁶ Sewell, I, p. 289.

⁷ From T. Mills and J. Milward to the Batavia Factory, Pulicat, November 6, 1622, *English Factories, 1622-3*, p. 140.

⁸ From the Viceroy to the King, February 8, 1630; photo in the I. H. R. I., MS. section.

⁹ *Ibid.*

His campaigns seem to have been very successful. For he, according to the letter of two servants of the East India Company resident at Armagon, recovered almost the whole of his kingdom, save a small portion round Armagon itself. "The greate King of the Gentewes (Rāma II) ", they say, "is nowe in his wares growne soe powerfull that hee hath conquered and regayned all his formar dominions save only our Naique of this place ; who (it) is supposed cannot long subsist ; wherfore perforce must leave his country "¹. We are not aware whether this finally happened, and since nothing about it is mentioned in the subsequent letters from Armagon, we may suppose that death checked his successful career and his final undertaking was never accomplished.

Several episodes of this civil war are referred to in the letters of the English factors established at Pulicat. Towards the close of 1620 Mathew Duke writing from Masulipatam had already compared the wars round Pulicat 'to the wairs in Barbary'². The succession of facts seems to be as follows.

After the great civil war was over in the year 1618, Itirāja, Jagga Rāya's brother and successor as leader of the rebel party, retired northwards, and, in spite of having given a daughter in marriage to the young Emperor, settled as an independent chief in the surroundings of Pulicat. As a matter of fact, on the 28th of August, 1620, he granted the territory of Castle Geldria to the Dutch, as the only lord of the country.

The territory of Pulicat had already been granted to the Dutch by Emperor Veṅkaṭa II in 1610³. But after considering the advanced age and the weakness of this King, the Dutch Commander tried to obtain another document confirming the donation from Jagga Rāya, the local zemindar who was

¹ From L. Henley and N. Bix to the President and Council at Bantam, Armagon, August 20, 1629, *English Factories, 1624-9*, pp. 346-347.

² From Mathew Duke to the Company, Masulipatam, November 15, 1620, *English Factories, 1618-21*, p. 210.

³ Cf. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, pp. 453-454.

living 40 miles away. This document was finally obtained towards the end of 1612¹. But Jagga Rāya was killed during the civil war in 1617²; and after the end of the war the Dutch of Pulicat demanded a confirmation of the same grant from his brother Itirāja. This was the document issued in the year 1620, which we have referred to a little while ago. It states that Itirāja was the governor over 40 Gentijn (native) miles. In point of fact Mills and Milward, the two Englishmen who settled at Pulicat in the year 1622, call him "the lord of these parts"³.

The text of the document is as follows :—

"Contract made by Itteragie, Lord of the surrounding countries of Palliacatta on one side, and Assly Patelitt Groa and Kagie Chitty on the other side regarding the governorship of this town Palliacatta and the country under its jurisdiction, in force from 28th August, A. D. 1620."

Letter of Credence given by Interagie to our people, dated 28th August, 1620, regarding the above mentioned contract :—

I, Gouber Interagie, governor of a country of 40 Gentijn (native) miles, have given this letter of credence to the Moor and captain of the Dutch. Having come to Paliacatta in connection with the *visiadores*, I have also visited the Moor captain in the fortress and have had a discussion regarding everything that has happened uptil now. And because Pederagie has not treated me as he should have, the said Moor Captain has ordered Pederagie to come and see me. On account of the intervention of the captain I have left him the 'visie' provided he will behave in future and will rule in the town and the country under his jurisdiction just as in the time of Obayana according to old customs. All this I have allowed to Pederagie. The Moor captain has also agreed that I shall

¹ Van Dijk, *Zes Jaren uit het leven van Wemmer Van Berchem*, p. 27. Cf Heras, *Venkata II of Vijayanagara and the Dutch of Pulicat*, *Pachaiyappa's College Magazine*, IX, no. 2, pp. 2-5.

² Cf. Heras, *The Great Civil War of Vijayanagara*, *J. I. H.*, V, p. 183.

³ From T. Mills and J. Milward to the Batavia Factory, Pulicat, November 6, 1622, *English Factories, 1622-23*, p. 139.

leave some soldiers in the town as a guard, and this contract will be in force as long as Pederagie will maintain the above agreement. And if he does anything against the agreement in the town or in the country, the Moor captain will maintain me in my rule and will not assist Pederagie. He will also not allow any other *visiadores* in the town except Pederagie. And in case enemies might affect the fortress or the town, I promise to give my protection and assistance by all means. This promise I give was signed S. R. D. A. P. with the name of his god.¹

This agreement nevertheless was not to be of much use, for we do not hear of any wars round Pulicat in the subsequent years, at least during the reign of Rāma II.

Moreover the Emperor seems to have been very favourable towards the Dutch settlement. We deduce this fact from two letters of King Veṅkaṭa III, Rāma's successor, to the Dutch Governor at Pulicat. In the first of these two letters Emperor Veṅkaṭa states that he confirms the "caull given by King Rāma Dēva Rāya"². The second letter, dated the same year, clearly avers: "Before this Rāma Dēva Rāya has given you (the Dutch) the villages Coronger and Perombeur"³. Accordingly, Rāma II not only confirmed the Dutch in the possession of Pulicat, but even gave them two villages in the neighbourhood of the fort. This was most probably done after the war during which the Dutch had observed a prudent neutrality.

And then suddenly, on the 26th of July, 1622, Mills and Milward announce from Pulicat that "the said government (Pulicat) (is) bestowed on a great Nayco (Nāyak) of the country who is to send (send away) the said Itteraja (Itirāja)"⁴. Who was this great Nāyak on whom the country round Pulicat was bestowed, and by whom was this investiture

¹ Heeres, *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, p. 159.

² Ibid., p. 250.

³ Ibid., p. 251.

⁴ From T. Mills and J. Milward to the President and Council at Batavia, Pulicat, July 26th, 1622, *English Factories, 1622-23*, p. 106.

made? Replying first to the second part of this question, it is evident that this favour was bestowed upon him by the Emperor himself, to whom all the Nāyaks were supposed to pay homage. Rāma Dēva could not tolerate the insubordination of Itirāja, his father-in-law, and sent against him one of his faithful generals¹. This general is called in the English letters Cemenique² or Chemenique³, and also receives the appellation of "our old friend"⁴, though probably ironically, as he perturbed the peaceful trade at Pulicat. It has been suggested that this chief might be Chennapa Nāyaka, the brother-in-law of Echama or Yāchama Nāyaka, who had in former days conquered the fort of Vellore for King Venkātā II⁵, or Yāchama Nāyaka himself⁶. The existence of an *m* in the spelling of Mills and Milward, and the well known faithfulness of Yāchama to the throne incline me to believe that the general despatched against Itirāja was his old foe, the valiant chief of Venkātāgiri. It seems that the appointment was made and he actually started against Itirāja towards the end of 1621. For Mills writing from Pulicat in October, 1622, says that Echama Nāyaka is "begininge his pranckes as he did the last years"⁷; and one month later Mills and Milward call him "our last yeares enymye"⁸. But the formal attack did not take place till the end of 1622.

¹ In another letter of November 6th, Mills and Milward seem to suppose that Yāchama Nāyaka was not sent against Itirāja by the Emperor but he went on his own accord. "They both," they said, "strive for that they have no right into, but patronize as their owne untill the kinge be established." From T. Mills and J. Milward to the Batavia Factory, November 6th, 1622, *Ibid.*, p. 140.

² From the same to the Batavia Factory, Pulicat, November 6th, 1622, *Ibid.*, p. 139.

³ From the same to the Masulipatam Factory, Pulicat, October 20th, 1622, *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-319.

⁶ *English Factories, 1622-3*, p. 139, n. 2.

⁷ From T. Mills to the Masulipatam Factory, Pulicat, October 21st, 1622, *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁸ From T. Mills and J. Milward to the Batavia Factory, Pulicat, November 6th 1622, *Ibid.*, p. 138.

The first alarming news of his approach was spread in the month of July. It was then said that he was coming at the head of 4,000 men¹. The English factors were not very sanguine. "What alterations their may be by this change," they say, "we are to attend. Butt may feare wilbe worse for our negocyations"². Itirāja himself, inspite of being described as 'a man by all reported of a stoute corrage'³, is said to "remaine as fearfull of the succeeding times⁴." It seems he was badly in need of money for the defension of his territory, while Yachama was "well stored and therefore is of more forse"⁵.

Finally on October 20th, Mills and Milward announced to the Masulipatam Factory that "our old friend Chemenique (Yāchama Nāyaka), as we understand, hath adjoynded his forces and is sett forward with two or three thousand men towards these partes; the brute of whose cominge hath strocken such a feare in these countrey people hereabouts that makes them flie to Pullicatt with bag and baggage, and within theise seven days here are retired above two thousand people. What will ensue hercupon we are yet ignorant, but must leave it to the triall of time." Heaven nevertheless seemed to favour the cause of Itirāja and Pulicat with a copious rain. "Here", continues the same letter, "hath fallen within this eight dayes great store of raine; insomuch that we remaine incirculed with water, which is a sufficient defence against the enemie and hath brought no small content to the inhabitants of Palliatt"⁶. This most likely was the reason why Yachama Nāyaka did not

¹ From the same to the President and Council at Batavia, Pulicat, July 26th, 1622, Ibid., p. 106.

² Ibid.

³ From the same to the Batavia Factory, Pulicat, November 6th, 1622, Ibid. p. 140.

⁴ From the same to the President and Council at Batavia, Pulicat, July 26th, 1622, Ibid., p. 106.

⁵ From the same to the Batavia Factory, Pulicat, November 6th, 1622, Ibid., p. 140.

⁶ From the same to the Masulipatam Factory, Pulicat, October 20th, 1622, Ibid., p. 133.

approach Pulicat, in spite of the fact that this fort was the aim of his whole expedition, as we learn from another letter of the same factors. "For this Cemeniqua (Yāchama Nāyaka), whose drifte and ayme is for Pallecatt, to bringe itt in subjection under his government, that he might have the sacken of the inhabitants, who is possest they enjoye an infinitt of meanes, and therefore would faine be plucking of their feathers; which having see subjected, would lett them rest till they were growne out againe and fully ripe"¹. Nevertheless he is said to have "com on forward with a small force, but durst not visitt in Palicatt"².

Hence Yāchama seeing that it was impossible to capture Pulicat entered a small village, the inhabitants of which had fled to Pulicat two days before and set it on fire "burnynge all to the ground". The factors tell us that this village was "neare borderinge, and within sight of Pallecatt"; and in another letter they say that it was "within three miles of Pallicatt". And they add the following factious comment: "They have but a cold time of itt, all they countrey beinge all over with water; wherefore I suppose sett those poore houses on fire to warme themselves". This happened on the 20th of October³. This being done, "in two days and two nights" Yāchama Nāyaka with the help of coolies he himself brought for this purpose erected a mud fort over the ashes of the village and fortified himself within the walls.

Itirāja presently mustered all his forces "to the number of four or five thousand persons" and on the 28th of October besieged the said fort. Yāchama, though having only 300 soldiers with him, "held out a day or two". Itirāja then sent a message to the Dutch at Pulicat demanding their assistance. These sent him "two pieces of ordnance out

¹ From the same to the Batavia Factory, Pulicat, November 6, 1622, *Ibid.*, p. 140.

² From T. Mills to the Masulipatan Factory, Pulicat, October 21, 1622, *Ibid.*, p. 134.

³ From T. Mills and J. Milward to the Batavia Factory, Pulicat, November 6, 1622, *Ibid.*, p. 138.

of the forte, with two or three gunners." This unexpected arrival of armaments broke the bravery of Yāchama. He at once proposed an amnesty promising that "they would deliver up the forte and retire themselves". Accordingly the two Dutch cannon were taken back to Pulicat on the 30th of the same month, while the two chiefs were settling the agreement. "And standing both of his sensure, assigned each (each) his quarter or portion of land which formerly they held, which was divided by a river which parted the same. And conditions being drawne and writings past betwene them, the said Iteraja, as void of any further suspicion, began to remove his forces, and came even att the town of Pallicatte, minding to returne to his home, left the fort without any person therein, only one parte of theise tender wales have rayssed, to the ground in the meane tyme."

But the war was not yet over. One day after the retreat of Itirāja, Yāchama Nāyaka came back by night, accompanied by "2000 persons", took possession of the partly destroyed mud fort, repaired its walls and made them somewhat larger. On the following morning there were 500 soldiers within the walls ready to defend the fort, while Yāchama Nāyaka himself with 10,000 foot (*sic*) encamped near by. Itirāja did not expect this new attack, and required assistance from his brothers and other friends to oppose the increased army of his enemy. Nevertheless he encamped within a mile and a half of the enemy waiting for reinforcements. On November 6th, when the letter from which we give an extract was written, he had round him four thousand soldiers, "and dayly attends a further supply"¹. A Dutch letter informs us that the Dutch of Pulicat helped also Itirāja on this second occasion. They gave him sixty or seventy *rials* (?) and promised to help him with some cannon², a thing they most likely did as on the

¹ From the same to the Batavia Factory, Pu licat, November 6, 1622, Ibid., pp. 138-40.

² *Hague Transcripts*, Series I, Vol. VI, according to *English Factories*, 1922-23, p. 140, note 1.

first occasion. "What will follow by theise chains of troubles, the conclusion will make appearance," add here the two English Factors of Pulicat; "but in the meane time we greatly feare, yea varily beeleeve, our negotiations vil be greatly hindered, if not in our expectation wholly frustrated"¹.

It seems however that the help expected by Itirāja arrived at time, since Mills informs us six days later that "the enemy (Yāchama Nāyaka) has retired, but maintains possession of his fort"². This seems to imply that the main body of the army retreated, though the fort was still being defended by Yāchama's subjects. We hear nothing else of these wars near Pulicat; and this silence seems to point to a definite victory of Itirāja. Yet it seems also that this chief finally submitted to the obedience of Rāma II; otherwise the factors of Armagon could not have written "that he (Rama) hath conquered and regayned all his former dominions save only our Naique of this place", as quoted a little above.

When apparently there were no more wars round Pulicat another war broke out in the neighbourhood of the English factory of Armagon. The Nāyak of this place was a Hindu youth of great expectations, 19 years old³. According to the Dutch accounts he was called Tyma Neyek (Timma or Tirumala Nāyaka), Terra Wackepatney (?) and Wenckepatneyek

¹ From T. Mills and J. Milward to the Batavia Factory, Pulicat, November 6th, 1622, *English Factories, 1622-23*, p. 140

² From T. Mills to the Masulipatam Factory, Pulicat, November 12, 1622, *Ibid.*, p. 143.

³ Narrative of T. Mills and T. Johnson, March 1st, 1626, *English Factories, 1624-9*, p. 121. I cannot admit the opinion of Sir William Foster, *English Factories, 1624-9*, p. XLIII, note 1, who identifies the Nāyaks of Armagon with those of Venkatagiri. Certainly both places are not far from each other. Yet the English never gave the Nāyak of Armagon the title of Venkatagiri. Then the known names of the Nāyaks of Armagon are not to be found among the names of the Venkatagiri chiefs. Cf. Sewell, II, p. 242. Finally the Nāyak of Venkatagiri was by this time the famous Yāchama Nāyaka whose faithfulness to the throne is well known. He cannot be the Nāyak of Armagon described in a letter we shall refer to later on as a usurper and with whom the Vijayanagara Emperor is waging continuous war.

(Venkātapati Nāyaka)¹. All on a sudden another Nāyak of the neighbourhood of Armagon, whose name is not given, mustered an army and entered the Armagon territory. "His approach", writes Thomas Johnson from Armagon itself, "is daily expected here by these townsmen, to the utter overthrow of this place; for, as they report, he hath two or three times already burnt down this dispersed town down to the ground and carried away the booty, upon less occasion of insurrection"². This impending attack nevertheless is never spoken of in the successive letters of Armagon; but many of them mention another war action intimately connected with the rebellion of the aforesaid Nāyak.

He seems to have been a captain of the young Rāja's father. The latter conferred upon this captain a fort in the vicinity of Armagon, but the donee, ungrateful to his master, rebelled against him. This happened shortly before the old Rāja's death, and when the young prince succeeded to the ghadi, the rebel handed over the fort "to another great man" and he seems to have devoted himself to the conquest of the country around.³ The young Nāyak at once besieged this fort, hoping that after the capture of this stronghold the rebel chief would no longer resist. This fort seems to have been about twenty⁴ or twenty-four miles distant from Armagon,⁵ and its walls were made of mud.⁶ One of the English letters calls this fort Poora⁷, but a Dutch letter gives its name as Seerecour⁸, a place identified

¹ Cf. *English Factories, 1624-9*, p. XLIII, note 1.

² From T. Johnson to T. Mills, Armagon, May 27th, 1626, *English Factories, 1624-9*, p. 132.

³ From the same to the same, Masulipatam, June 3rd, 1626, *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴ Narrative of T. Mills and Johionu, March 1st, 1626, *Ibid.*, p. 120-121.

⁵ From T. Mills to the President and Council of Batavia, Masulipatam; June 3rd, 1626, *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁶ From T. Johnson and J. Beverley to the President and Council at Batavia Armagon, April, 19th, 1626, *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Hague Transcripts, Series I, Vol. VIII, no. 258.* according to *English Factories, 1624-9*, p. 120, note 5.

by Sewell with Sriharikota¹, situated about twenty-four miles south of Armagon. The army of the Nāyak of Armagon consisted of 24² or 25 thousand soldiers besides workmen engaged in the trenches³. On the other hand the fort contained only 3,000 men; but it was reported to be provisioned for three years. The Nāyak of Armagon took a vow that he would never leave the field "till he brought it under his subjection"⁴. Success soon crowned his courage. On June 3rd, 1626, Thomas Mills writes from Masulipatam: "By letters I understand the besieged have surrendered it (the fort) up unto him, upon composition fairly to depart without farther molest"⁵. Such seems to have been the end of the Armagon wars in the year 1626.

Nevertheless the English factors of Armagon did not consider themselves free of danger. Three years later Lawrence Henley and Nicholas Bix wrote from Armagon as follows: "Wee have always been wary to keep friends with this Naige (Nāyak); who of himselfe seems conformable, but hee hath soe many mallignant knaves aboute him, who by nature are base, that never cease there false information against us and our best merchants, only to have their mouths stopt with guifts and bribes"⁶.

Besides Emperor Rāma Dēva himself, who considered the Nāyak of Armagon a rebel to the throne, was marching against him, and he had already by this time taken possession of some of the bordering towns. "This Naige (Nāyak)", write the same factors, "stands upon doubtful tearmes whether hee shall keepe

¹ Cf. *English Factories, 1624-9*, l.c.

² Narrative of T. Mills and T. Johnson, March 1st, 1626, *Ibid.*, p. 120. From T. Johnson and J. Beverley to the President and Council at Batavia, Armagon, April 19th, 1626, *Ibid.*, p. 128.

³ From T. Mills to the President and Council at Batavia, Masulipatam, June 3, 1626, *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ From L. Henley and N. Bix to the President and Council at Batavia, Armagon, June 30th, 1629, *Ibid.*, p. 342.

his country, for hee is a usurper and the true king doth daylie take from him and his fellows confederates"¹. Whether Rāma Deva could finish the conquest of the whole Armagon territory or not, we are not aware of. Yet we are inclined to believe that this conquest was never finished. Had it been so, it would undoubtedly have been recorded in the English letters. Moreover the Emperor himself had not much time before him to carry out this enterprise.

For not long after, suddenly, news of the death of Rāma Dēva II appears in one of the letters of the Portuguese Viceroy. On December 20th, 1630, Conde de Linhares writes the following laconical phrase to the Portuguese monarch: "A King of the kingdom of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) whose name was Rama Raju...died"². In a letter, dated February 8th of the same year the Viceroy speaks of Rāma Dēva Rayā as still alive³. But in another letter of November 29 he had already spoken of "the new king of the country"⁴, who cannot be other than Rāma II's successor.

This sudden death, the information of which has come to us only through a foreign source, seems to be wrapped in a cloud of mystery. Did he die during a war? Was he treacherously killed? Was poison administered to him? Indian records remain absolutely silent about this event. That youth of such great expectations, who had sat on the jewelled throne of Vijayanagara after one of the bloodiest civil wars that the plains of Southern India have ever witnessed, and who during the twelve years of his reign had not ceased to fight to restore the imperial dignity to its ancient splendour, comes down to the grave in the twenty-seventh year of his age without being mourned by any of his subjects.

Rāma II seems to have died childless. He had married two wives—Kondamma, the daughter of Iṭirāja, and Obamma, the

¹ Ibid., Ibid., p. 343.

² From the Portuguese Viceroy Conde de Linhares to the King, Goa, December 20, 1630; photo in the I. H. R. I., MS. section.

³ From the same to the same, Goa, February 8th, 1630, Ibid.

⁴ From the same to the same, November 29, 1630, Ibid.

daughter of the Pochiraju chief Rāma Rāju¹. But we hear of no sons of the unfortunate Emperor. Mr. Krishna Sastri supposes that the fact of his having appointed his cousin Pedda Venkṭa as his crown-prince does not prove his lack of offspring. "Political reasons", says he, "may have been compelled to choose Pedda Venkṭa as his crown-prince in preference to his own sons"². We really fail to see what these political reasons could be.

In point of fact several inscriptions recording events which happened during Rāma II's reign mention one Venkṭa as ruling at Penukonda or seated on the diamond throne of Vijayanagara³. These inscriptions are so frequent that they have induced some authors to suppose that Pedda Venkṭa was nominated Chikka Rāya and even was associated with Rāma II in governing the country several years before the latter died. In fact the inscriptions of Rāma II are not very numerous. Perhaps one of the most important is the one that records the construction of the tank of Gooty inside the fort of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, ordered by him in the year 1619⁴.

¹ *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 244.

² Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, *A. S. of I*, 1913, p. 190.

³ Butterworth, I, pp. 196 ; 264-265 ; 454 ; III, 1359-60 ; 1418-19 ; Sewell, I, p. 263.

⁴ Sewell, I, p. 115.

II.—Rammohun Roy as an Educational Pioneer

(Based on State Records)

By **Brajendra Nath Banerji,**

Hindu College.

The education of the people is usually described as England's mission in India. But English education was not in its origin a gift of the East India Company's Government to the people of India ; the impetus for it came at first from the missionaries and some non-official Europeans, and the movement went on gathering volume from the eagerness of the ruled rather than of the rulers. The East India Company and British traders in India wanted clerks and interpreters knowing English as much as the Indian people wanted posts in Government and mercantile offices. The growing demand for English education from this motive led to the establishment of a number of private schools. The method of teaching English in them was, to say the least, extremely rudimentary and their inefficiency came to be realized very soon. A desire for English education of a higher grade, as an instrument of culture, was also rapidly growing among the upper classes of Indians, who had grown in wealth under British peace and the permanent settlement of the land. It was this desire, as well as the necessity of a higher knowledge of English from the business point of view, which induced some leaders of Hindu society to establish the well-known 'Hindu College'*—"the very first English seminary in Bengal, or even in India, as far as I know," according to Dr. Duff. It was founded in 1817. Among those who had realized the supreme importance of Western science and literature

*This seminary—also known under the names of the Vidyalaya, Anglo-Indian College, Maha-Patshala, and Native Hindu College—was later transferred into the Presidency College, Calcutta.

as a means of enlightening their countrymen the name of Rammohun Roy stands foremost, and it was he who actually conceived the idea of founding the Hindu College—a fact known to very few. Sir Hyde East, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, was instrumental in establishing this institution, which was reared up by the unremitting devotion and energy of David Hare, backed by some leading Hindus. The true history of the origin of the Hindu College is given in the following letter which Sir Hyde East addressed on 18th May 1816 to his friend J. Harington, then absent in England:

“An interesting and curious scene has lately been exhibited here, which shows that all things pass under change in due season. About the beginning of May, a Brahmin of Calcutta, [Rammohun Roy], whom I knew, and who is well known for his intelligence and active interference among the principal Native inhabitants, and also intimate with many of our own gentlemen of distinction, called upon me and informed me, that many of the leading Hindus were desirous of forming an establishment for the education of their children in a liberal manner as practised by Europeans of condition; and desired that I would lend them my aid towards it, by having a meeting held under my sanction. Wishing to be satisfied how the Government would view such a measure, I did not at first give him a decided answer; but stated, that however much I wished well, as an individual, to such an object, yet, in the public situation I held, I should be cautious not to give any appearance of acting from my own impulse in a matter which I was sure that the Government would rather leave to them (the Hindus) to act in, as they thought right, than in any manner to control them; but that I would consider of the matter, and if I saw no objection ultimately to the course he proposed, I would inform him of it; and if he would then give me a written list of the principal Hindus to whom he alluded, I would send them an invitation to meet at my house. In fact, several of them had before, at different times, addressed themselves to me upon this topic, but never before in so direct a manner.

“ After his departure I communicated to the Governor-General what had passed, who laid my communication before the Supreme Council, all the members of which approved of the course I had taken, and signified, through his Lordship, that they saw no objection to my permitting the parties to meet at my house.

“ It seemed indeed to be as good an opportunity as any which could occur of feeling the general pulse of the Hindus, as to the projected system of national moral improvement of them recommended by Parliament (and towards which they have directed a lac to be annually laid out), and this without committing the Government in the experiment. The success of it has much surpassed any previous expectation. The meeting was accordingly held at my house on the 14th of May 1816, at which 50 and upwards of the most respectable Hindu inhabitants of rank or wealth attended, including also the principal Pandits; when a sum of nearly half a lac of rupees was subscribed, and many more subscriptions were promised. Those who were well acquainted with this people, and know how hardly a Hindu parts with his money upon any abstract speculation of mental advantage, will best know how to estimate this effort of theirs. It is, however, a beginning made towards improvement which surprises those who have known them the longest, and many of themselves also. Most of them, however, appeared to take great interest in the proceedings, and all expressed themselves in favour of making the acquisition of the English language a principal object of education, together with its moral and scientific productions.

“ I first received some of the principal Hindus in a room adjoining to that where the generality were to assemble. There the Pandits, to most of whom I was before unknown, were introduced to me. The usual mode of salutation was on this occasion departed from; instead of holding out money in his hand for me to touch (a base and degrading custom), the chief Pandit held out both his hands closed towards me; and as I offered him my hand, thinking he wished to shake hands in our

English style, he disclosed a number of small sweet-scented flowers, which he emptied into my hand, saying that those were the flowers of literature, which they were happy to present to me upon this occasion, and requested me to accept from them (adding some personal compliments). Having brought the flowers to my face, I told him that the sweet scent was an assurance to me that they would prove to be the flowers of morality, as well as of literature, to his nation, by the assistance of himself and his friends. This appeared to gratify them very much.

“Talking afterwards with several of the company, before I proceeded to open the business of the day, I found that one of them in particular, a Brahmin of good caste, and a man of wealth and influence, was mostly set against Rammohun Roy, son of [a *pattanidar* under] the Rajah of Burdwan, a Brahmin of the highest caste, and of great wealth and rank (who has lately written against the Hindu idolatry, and upbraids his countrymen pretty sharply). He expressed a hope that no subscription would be received from Rammohun Roy. I asked, why not? ‘Because he has chosen to separate himself from us, and to attack our religion.’ ‘I do not know,’ I observed, ‘what Rammohun’s religion is’—(I have heard it is a kind of Unitarianism)—‘not being acquainted or having had any communication with him; but I hope that my being a Christian, and a sincere one, to the best of my ability, will be no reason for your refusing my subscription to your undertaking.’ This I said in a tone of gaiety; and he answered readily in the same style, ‘No, not at all; we shall be glad of your money; but it is a different thing with Rammohun Roy, who is a Hindu, and yet has publicly reviled us, and written against us and our religion; and I hope there is no intention to change our religion.’ I answered, that ‘I knew of no intention of meddling with their religion; that every object of the establishment would be avowed, and a committee appointed by themselves to regulate the details, which would enable themselves to guard against everything they should disapprove of;

that their own committee would accept or refuse subscriptions from whom they pleased.' I added that, 'I being a Christian, upon my deliberate conviction, would, as a man, spare no pains to make all other men such, if any persuasion of mine could work such a change; but being sensible that such a change was wholly out of my power to effect, the next best thing I could do for them was to join my endeavours to theirs to make them good Hindus, good men, and to enlighten their nation by the benefits of a liberal education, which would enable them to improve themselves, and judge for themselves.' The Brahmin said he had no objection to this; and some of the others laughed and observed to me, that they saw no reason, if Rammohun Roy should offer to subscribe towards their establishment, for refusing his money, which was as good as other people's.

"This frank mode of dealing with them, I have often before had occasion to remark, is the best method of gaining their personal regard and confidence. Upon another occasion I had asked a very sensible Brahmin what it was that made some of his people so violent against Rammohun. He said, in truth, they did not like a man of his consequence to take open part against them; that he himself had advised Rammohun against it: he had told him, that if he found anything wrong among his countrymen, he should have endeavoured, by private advice and persuasion, to amend it; but that the course he had taken set everybody against him, and would do no good in the end. They particularly disliked (and this I believe is at the bottom of the resentment) his associating himself so much as he does with Mussulmans, not with this or that Mussulman, as a personal friend, but being continually surrounded by them, and suspected to partake of meals with them. In fact, he has, I believe, newly withdrawn himself from the society of his brother Hindus, whom he looked down upon, which wounds their pride. They would rather be reformed by anybody else than by him. But they are now very generally sensible that they

want reformation ; and it will be well to do this gradually and quietly, under the auspices of Government, without its sensible interference in details.

“ The principal objects proposed for the adoption of the meeting (after raising a subscription to purchase a handsome piece of ground, and building a college upon part of it, to be enlarged hereafter, according to the occasion and increasing of funds), were the cultivation of the Bengalee and English languages in particular ; next, the Hindostanee tongue, as convenient in the Upper Provinces ; and then the Persian, if desired, as ornamental ; general duty to God ; the English system of morals (the Pandits and some of the most sensible of the rest bore testimony to and deplored their national deficiency in morals) ; grammar, writing (in English as well as Bengalee), arithmetic (this is one of the Hindu virtues), history, geography, astronomy, mathematics ; and in time, as the fund increases, English belles-lettres, poetry, etc., etc.

“ One of the singularities of the meeting was, that it was composed of persons of various castes, all combining for such a purpose, whom nothing else could have brought together ; whose children are to be taught, though not fed, together.

“ Another singularity was, that the most distinguished Pandits who attended declared their warm approbation of all the objects proposed ; and when they were about to depart, the head Pandit, in the name of himself and the others, said that they rejoiced in having lived to see the day when literature (many parts of which had formerly been cultivated in their country with considerable success, but which were now nearly extinct) was about to be revived with greater lustre and prospect of success than ever.

“ Another meeting was proposed to be held at the distance of a week ; and during this interval I continued to receive numerous applications for permission to attend it. I heard from all quarters of the approbation of the Hindus at large to the plan ; they have promised that a lakh shall be subscribed

to begin with. It is proposed to desire them to appoint a committee of their own for management, taking care only to secure the attendance of two or three respectable European gentlemen to aid them, and see that all goes on rightly.'*

The above document makes it clear that Rammohun Roy was the prime-mover in founding the Hindu College. The leading Hindus of Calcutta disliked his association with it, as he was regarded by them as a heretic and more of a Musalman than a Hindu. Rammohun, therefore, very wisely withdrew from the movement, lest the objects of the institution should be frustrated in consequence of his name appearing on the Committee of Management.

But his zeal for educational efforts of all kinds continued unabated.

Rammohan's Indian Academy.

The opening of schools for giving an English education to Hindu boys was a constant desire of Rammohun after his settlement in Calcutta early in 1815. Mr. Yates, in a letter, dated August 1816, informs us that Rammohun had offered Eustace Carey of Serampur a piece of ground for building a school house. The part he played in the establishment of the Hindu College has been already described. Sometime in 1816-17 he established an English school of his own at Suripara for the free instruction of Hindu boys. The following account of the school, given in the unpublished diary of Kishori Chand Mittra, may be of interest to the reader :

"9th June, 1850 : Conversation with Ramrutton Mookerjee—.....Two years after his arrival at Calcutta he established an English school at Suripara. It was a free institution and was the first private seminary in this town. It numbered about 200 pupils ; the instructive staff was rather inadequate, consisting of only a head and one assistant

**Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, Session 1852-53, vol. xxxii, 11th June 1853, pp. 235—37.*

master. Golak Mistri, a *napit* or barber by caste, was the first head master and Debnarain Dutt, a Kayastha, was his assistant. He paid the whole expenses of the school, the principal items being house rent Rs. 10, head master's salary Rs. 16, and assistant master's salary Rs. 8. He afterwards opened an English class at his own garden house in connection with the school, the most distinguished students of which were transferred to it. It was in charge of Mr. Morecroft whom he paid Rs. 100 per mensem. Tarachand Chakravarti, Nalini Mukherji, Isser Sarkar.....and others attended this class. The late Nanda Kumar [Kishore ?] Bose did not belong to this class but received private instruction from Rammohun."

A contemporary thus describes the school, as it was in 1818 :—

" Rammohun Roy, considering that youth is the period most adapted to the reception of novelties, either good or bad, has established a school at his own expense, where fifty children are taught Sanskrit, English, and Geography. How slender soever these attempts at reform may appear, they will, probably, more or less rapidly attain their object ; aided as they are by European influence, and, above all, by the art of printing." *

Rammohun was shortly afterwards able to purchase a piece of land near Cornwallis Square for his school and began to construct a building on it. Kishori Chand writes in his diary :—

" In 18.....he bought a parcel of land at Simla near Cornwallis Square, which was then being laid out, and built a school house there. Messrs. Gas and Shadwell were the builders."

In 1822 Rammohun Roy opened his school on these new premises which, according to Miss Collet, went by the name of

* M. D'Acosta, Editor of *The Times* at Calcutta, to Abbe Gregoire, formerly Bishop of Blois, dated Calcutta, November 8, 1818.—*Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature*, xv (1820), pp. 2—4.

the Anglo-Hindu School. It was a free institution and was supported entirely by Rammohun, assisted to a small extent by subscriptions from a few of his friends. Sandford Arnot, better known as the secretary of Rammohun while in England—appears to have belonged to the teaching staff of this school. At the time of the banishment of James Silk Buckingham, Arnot was acting as assistant editor of his *Calcutta Journal*, but he too like his predecessor was found guilty under the Press Ordinance of 1823 and was ordered to leave the country at once. Arnot was an asset to the seminary, and naturally Rammohun was eager to retain him, at least for a few years more. The Indian Government was not favourably disposed towards Rammohun, and he naturally feared that any representation from him to the Government in favour of Mr. Arnot was not likely to meet with success. We therefore find his son-in-law—Gurudas Mookerjee—memorializing the Government in 1824 for an extension of Arnot's sojourn in this country. The petition runs as follows :—

“We the undermentioned patrons and friends of a Seminary of education for the gratuitous instruction of native youth, beg leave most respectfully to represent to your Lordship in Council, that this institution having existed for nearly three years during which a portion of the pupils have made such a degree of proficiency as urgently requires increased ability in their teachers—a want which till lately we found it impossible to supply ; in the beginning of June last, Mr. Sandford Arnot immediately on his arrival here from Bencoolen and while in expectation of being permitted to remain in the country, engaged, as a means of subsistence, to superintend the education of the pupils under our charge agreeably to the wish we had long entertained of procuring the assistance of a competent European teacher.

“Under the circumstances we beg leave to request, with the greatest deference, that your Lordship in Council will be pleased to grant us permission to retain Mr. Arnot in his present situation until the pleasure of the Court of Directors be known, should it be agreeable to the benevolent disposition of Government ;

we in the meantime being ready to become responsible and to produce the most satisfactory security for his conduct.

"We are the more encouraged to hope for the indulgence, as the British Government has been pleased very frequently to express a desire to promote the diffusion of knowledge among its Indian subjects; and it will therefore, we feel confident, embrace every favourable opportunity of enabling the natives of India to avail themselves of such means as lie within their reach, for the instructing their children and those of their poor countrymen. Whereas since few, if any, Europeans of education, come to this country, unless expressly destined to other pursuits, which it can seldom be in their power and their inclination to abandon, we have found it impossible to obtain any competent European teacher at a moderate salary; on which account we have been endeavouring to procure a fit person from England. In regard therefore to the principal object of our institution we have at present but faint hopes of success, unless through the indulgence of Government now solicited.

"We have presumed to make this request under the general impression that from the liberal disposition of Government, it will be pleased with an opportunity of conferring on us a favour of this nature; feeling confident that your Lordship in Council will excuse the liberty we have taken in presenting this address." (13th October 1824).*

Government curtly rejected the petition.

Maharshi Devendranath Tagore was at one time a student of this school. He writes in his autobiography: "I was a student in Rammohun Roy's school at Hedua (Cornwallis Square). His son Ramaprasad was a class-mate of mine."

Mr. William Adam was one of the visitors of this school. He writes of it in 1827:

"Two teachers are employed, one at a salary of Rs. 150 per month, and the other at a salary of Rs. 70 per month; and from

* See *Judicial (Criminal) Proceedings* 28th October 1824, No. 44. This memorial to the Governor-General bears the signatures of Gurudas Mukherji, Lalla Kissen Chand, Hurrochunder Ghosh, Roy Kissen Mohan Mitter, Bissonauth Ghose, Becharam Sen, Roopchund Coondo and Ramchunder Biswas.

60 to 80 Hindu boys are instructed in the English language. The doctrines of Christianity are not inculcated, but the duties of morality are carefully enjoined, and the *facts* belonging to the history of Christianity are taught to those pupils who are capable of understanding general history ”.

Miss Collet gives one interesting detail about it :

“Mr. William Adam strongly desired to make it a public institution, to solicit for public subscriptions, and to put it under the control of the Unitarian Committee. But Rammohun firmly refused his consent to the scheme. Mr. Adam was much distressed and felt it his duty to restrict his activity as a visitorAs a visitor, Adam complained that his fellow visitor, whom he considered quite unsuited for the post, upset the plans and practices which Mr. Adam had painfully introduced into the school. But Rammohun would not part with the obnoxious visitor, whose popularity with the natives was great ; and Mr. Adam resigned in high dudgeon. This occurred in 1828. ”

When Rammohun sailed for England in November 1830 the charge of the school devolved on its head master, Purna Chandra Mitra, and it came to be popularly known as ‘Purna Mitra’s school.’ From January 1834 the name of the school was changed to the *Indian Academy*, as the following entry in the *Calcutta and Agra Gazetteer* (1841) will show :

“Indian Academy. Established in January 1834, under the patronage of Baboo Radhapersud Roy. Simlah, near Cornwallis Square.” (Vol. I, pt. iii, p. 340).

It was during the management of Purna Chandra Mittra that the celebrated Bhudev Mookerjee was a pupil at the Indian Academy.*

The Vedant College.

Mr. Adam writes under the date July 27, 1826, that “Rammohun Roy has lately built a small but very neat and handsome college, which he calls the Vedant College, in which a few

* *Bhudev-charit*, Part I, pages 37, 39. The *Friend of India*, 25th February 1841, has the following paragraph : “The Indian Academy was founded by the late Rammohun Roy and is one of the last vestiges of the good he attempted.”

youths are at present instructed by a very eminent Pandit, in Sanskrit literature, with a view to the propagation and defence of *Hindu* Unitarianism. With this institution he is also willing to connect instructions in European science and learning, and in *Christian* Unitarianism, provided the instructions are conveyed in the Bengali or Sanskrit language."¹

Encouraged and supported by Rammohun Roy, Ramchandra Vidyabagish—who later became the first Minister of the Brahmo Samaj, opened a *chatusprithi*, south of the Cornwallis Square—some say it was 74, Manicktala Street—and began to teach Vedanta philosophy to students.²

There was no real inconsistency in Rammohun's opposing the establishment of a college of Sanskrit learning by Government two years ago and his opening an institution for teaching the Vedanta philosophy through the medium of Sanskrit and Bengali now. His "Vedant College" was purely a seminary for training the priests and missionaries of his new creed, and not a college for giving general culture or secular education. Moreover, the Vedanta philosophy was taught in the ordinary Sanskrit colleges in the old uncritical and conventional fashion, as a defence of superstition and orthodoxy, while in Rammohun's college it was interpreted in such a way as to become the intellectual basis of a pure theism and to supply a bridge connecting the liberal Hindus with the liberal Christians, as Miss Collet very happily puts it.

Rammohun on the value of Modern knowledge.

The East India Company's Government at first did not recognize it as part of its duty to impart education to the people it ruled over, and only small sums were spent in encouraging the study of Sanskrit and Arabic, according to the policy inaugurated by Warren Hastings. It was in 1813 that the British Parliament authorized the Governor-General in Council to spend a sum of not more than one lakh of rupees annually

¹ Miss Collet's *Life and Letters of Rammohun Roy* (2nd ed.), pp. 109-110.

² ব্রাহ্মসমাজের প্রথম উপাসনা পদ্ধতি ...ed. by Ishan Chandra Basu, 1897), p. 113.

‘for the revival and promotion of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories.’ Before that in 1811, Lord Minto, with a view to preserving and encouraging Hindu learning, had promised to establish Oriental colleges at Nadia and Tirhut. But the plan was finally abandoned and in the place of the proposed colleges the Government resolved to found a Sanskrit College in Calcutta, with the following object :—

“The Committee will bear in mind that the immediate object of the institution is the cultivation of Hindu literature. Yet it is in the judgment of His Lordship in Council, a purpose of much deeper interest to seek every practicable means of effecting the gradual diffusion of European knowledge. It seems indeed no unreasonable anticipation to hope that if the higher and the educated classes among the Hindus shall, through the medium of their sacred language, be imbued with a taste for the European literature and science, general acquaintance with these and with the language whence they are drawn, will be as surely and as extensively communicated as by any attempt at direct instruction by other and humbler seminaries.” *

The “Hindu Sanskrit College” † was opened in Calcutta in 1824 with a staff of 14 pandits and a European Secretary. The General Committee of Public Instruction at first decided that the instruction given here should be confined to the sacred literature of the Hindus as contained in the Sanskrit language.

But there was at that time one Indian who could understand the value of modern knowledge. It was Rammohun Roy; he realized that by the introduction of the unmixed Sanskrit system of education the authorities would, instead of enlightening the native mind, rivet the chains of conservatism and stagnation upon it. In the interests of his countrymen

* Resolution of the Government in the Territorial Department, dated 21st August, 1821.

† The Sanskrit College is, in the old records, rather confusingly called the Hindu College.

he therefore addressed, on 11th December 1823, a letter of protest to Lord Amherst, the following extracts from which are full of significance :

“When this seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

“While we looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge, thus promised to the rising generation, our hearts were filled with mingled feelings of delight and gratitude ; we already offered up thanks to Providence for inspiring the most generous and enlightened nations of the West with the glorious ambitions of planting in Asia the arts and sciences of Modern Europe.

“We now find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu Pandits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago with the addition of vain and empty subtilties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.....

“In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning,I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

"If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sums proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe and providing a College furnished with the necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus.

"In representing this subject to your Lordship I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen and also to that enlightened Sovereign and Legislature which have extended their benevolent cares to this distant land actuated by a desire to improve its inhabitants and I therefore humbly trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus expressing my sentiments to your Lordship."*

Bishop Heber wrote in March 1824 regarding this letter :

"Rammohun Roy, a learned native, who has sometimes been called, though I fear without reason, a Christian, remonstrated against this [Orientalist] system last year, in a paper which he sent me to be put into Lord Amherst's hands, and which, for its good English, good sense, and forcible arguments, is a real curiosity, as coming from an Asiatic." (*Journal*, ii. 388).

How Rammohun's protest bore no immediate fruit will be seen from the following official records :

* This letter is recorded on pp. 42—50 of the *Copy book of Letters Received and Issued by the General Committee of Public Instruction, 1823-24.*

Letter from the Acting Deputy Persian Secretary to Government, to the Members of the General Committee of Public Instruction.

"I am directed to transmit to you for information, the accompanying copy of a representation addressed by Rammohun Roy, to the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, expressing disappointment on the part of himself and his countrymen, at the resolution of Government to establish a new Sanskrit College in Calcutta, instead of a seminary designed to impart instruction, exclusively in the arts, sciences and philosophy of Europe.

"In furnishing your Committee with a copy of the paper, His Lordship in Council cannot abstain from remarking, that it is obviously written under an imperfect and erroneous conception of the plan of education, and course of study, which it is proposed to introduce into the new College, that the defects and demerits of Sanskrit literature, and Philosophy, are therein represented in an exaggerated light, and that the arguments in favour of encouraging native learning, as well as the positive obligation to promote its revival and improvement, imposed on the Government by the terms of the Act of Parliament, directing the appropriation of certain funds to the object of Public Education, have been wholly overlooked by the writer.

"The letter of Rammohun Roy is not considered to call for any answer on the part of Government, but it will of course be at the discretion of your Committee to address any observations, which you may deem the occasion to require, either to Rammohun Roy himself or to Government." (2nd January 1824).*

Observations of Mr. J. H. Harington, the President of the Committee.

"Under the discretion vested in the Committee with respect to addressing observations on the letter of Rammohun Roy either to him or to Government the Committee resolve that

* Copy book of Letters Received and Issued by the General Committee of Public Instruction, 1823-24, pp. 40—42.

it is unnecessary to offer any remarks. The erroneous impressions entertained by the author of the letter are sufficiently adverted to in the letter from the Secretary to the Government, but had the views taken in the letter been even less inaccurate the Committee would still conceive it entitled to no reply, as it has disingenuously assumed a character to which it has no pretensions. The application to Government against the cultivation of Hindu literature, and in favour of the substitution of European tuition, is made professedly on the part, and in the name of the natives of India. But it bears the signature of one individual alone, whose opinions are well known to be hostile to those entertained by almost all his countrymen. The letter of Rammohun Roy does not therefore express the opinion of any portion of the natives of India, and its assertion to that effect, is a dereliction of truth, which cancels the claim of its author to respectful consideration.”*

This assumption of superior knowledge, and love of ‘native learning’ on the part of the European officials of the day is amusing. Still more amusing are the charges that Rammohun had no right to speak on behalf of his countrymen and that in writing the above letter he was guilty of disingenuousness and dereliction of truth. That the educational policy here advocated by him was afterwards adopted by Bentinck’s Government and that his anti-*Sati* views were also sanctioned by legislation are proofs of the fact that though he had little following, he was entitled to speak and to be heard as the best champion of his country’s true interests.

As regards his views on the Sanskrit education of his day, his critics forgot to note that he had condemned not Sanskrit literature in general, but only the current system of education under *Hindu* ^{pandits}.

The old official view that Bengali public feeling was entirely against the introduction of western learning is disproved not only by this letter of Rammohun Roy, but also by the establishment

*Recorded on 14th January 1824 in the *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Committee of Public Instruction for 1823—1841*, vol. No. 5, pp. 45—48.

in 1817 of the Hindu College—to which the President of the Committee of Public Instruction, Mr. Harington, was attached as Vice-President. The Committee in holding that “the actual state of public feeling [was] an impediment to any general introduction of western literature or science,” was actuated by blind timidity, as will be clear from Howell’s remarks in his *Education in British India* :—

“It is one of the most unintelligible facts in the history of English education in India, that at the very time when the natives themselves were crying out for instruction in European literature and science and were protesting against a continuance of the prevailing orientalism, a body of English gentlemen appointed to initiate a system of education for the country was found to insist upon the retention of oriental learning to the practical exclusion of European learning” (p. 18).

Rammohun’s advocacy of modern learning bore fruit—although a dozen years later. In March 1835, Lord William Bentinck recorded a minute holding that “the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India ; and that all funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.”

The members of the Education Commission, appointed by Lord Ripon in 1882, in the 6th chapter of their report, referring to Rammohun Roy’s exertions, wrote :—

“It took twelve years of controversy, the advocacy of Macaulay, and the decisive action of a new Governor-General, before the Committee could, as a body, acquiesce in the policy urged by him.”

Verily, Rammohun was a prophet in more fields than one. His wisdom was justified by its fruits.

Rammohun and Alexander Duff.

Not only did Rammohun himself do all he could towards the promotion of English education among his countrymen, he also

freely helped others in this great work. He was thus connected with the coming of Alexander Duff to India (in 1830). In 1824 Dr. Bryce—the Church of Scotland Chaplain in Calcutta, ‘encouraged by the approbation of Rammohun Roy,’ had presented a petition to the General Assembly directing “the attention of the Church of Scotland to British India as a field for missionary exertions, on the plan that is so successfully following out, and to which this eminently gifted scholar, himself a Brahmin of high caste, had specially annexed his sanction....Rammohun Roy was himself a hearer in the Scotch Church of Calcutta.”*

How greatly Duff was assisted by Rammohun is explained by the Scotsman’s biographer, George Smith, in the following words .—

“In a pleasant garden house in the leafy suburbs of Calcutta, the Raja Rammohun Roy, then 56 years of age, was spending his declining days in meditation on divine truth, broken only by works of practical benevolence among his countrymen, and soon by preparations for a visit to England... ‘You must at once visit the Raja,’ said General Beatson, when Mr. Duff presented his letter of introduction, ‘and I will drive you out on an early evening.....’.

“Having listened to the young Scotsman’s statement of his objects and plans, Rammohun Roy expressed general approval. All true education, the reformer emphatically declared, ought to be religious, since the object was not merely to give information, but to develop and regulate all the powers of the mind, the emotions, and the workings of the conscience. Though himself not a Christian by profession he had studied the Bible, and declared that, as a book of religious and moral

*“To the minute of St. Andrew’s kirk Session on the subject Rammohun Roy appended this singular testimony on the 8th December 1823: “As I have the honour of being a member of the congregation meeting in St. Andrew’s Church (although not fully concurring in every article of the Westminster Confession of Faith), I feel happy to have an opportunity of expressing my opinion that, if the prayer of the memorial is complied with there is a fair and reasonable prospect of this measure proving conducive to the diffusion of religious and moral knowledge in India.”

instruction it was unequalled. As a believer in God he also felt that everything should be begun by imploring His blessing. He therefore approved of the opening of the proposed school with prayer to God. Then, of his own accord, he added that, having studied the Vedas, the Koran and the Tripitakas of the Buddhists, he nowhere found any prayer so brief and all-comprehensive as that which Christians called the Lord's Prayer. Till, therefore, Mr. Duff had sufficiently mastered the Bengalee and his pupils the English, he recommended him to study and daily use the Lord's Prayer in the Bengalee or English, according to circumstances. But he entirely approved of using the English language, and not the Bengalee, Persian, Arabic or Sanskrit, for conveying sound European knowledge.....

" 'As a youth,' he said to Mr. Duff, 'I acquired some knowledge of the English language. Having read about the rise and progress of Christianity in apostolic times, and its corruptions in the succeeding ages, and then of the Christian Reformation which shook off these corruptions and restored it to its primitive purity, I began to think that something similar might have taken place in India, and similar results might follow here from a reformation of the popular idolatry.'

" Greatly cheered by the emphatic concurrence of Rammohun Roy, Mr. Duff said the real difficulty now was, where, or how, to get a hall in the native city in which to commence operations ; for the natives, owing to caste prejudices, were absolutely averse to letting any of their houses to a European for European purposes. Then, if a suitable place could be got, how could youths of the respectable classes be induced to attend, since he was resolved to teach the Bible in every class, and he was told that this would constitute an insuperable objection. For, at that early period, the ignorant Hindoos regarded the Bible with something like loathing, and hatred as the great antagonist of their Shasters ; they were also actuated by the superstitious belief that to take the Bible into their hands would operate upon them like a magical spell, forcing them to become Christians. Rammohun Roy at once offered the small hall of the Brumho

Sobha,* in the Chitpore road, for which he had been paying to the five Brahman owners five pounds a month of rental. The few worshippers were about to use a new building which he had himself erected before leaving for England.....As to pupils, his personal friends were sufficiently free from prejudice to send their sons at his request. Driving at once to the spot, the generous Hindoo reformer secured the hall for the Christian missionary from Scotland at four pounds a month. Pointing to a punkah suspended from the roof, Rammohun said with a smile, 'I leave you that as my legacy.'.....

"...a day was fixed for the public opening of the school, at 10 A.M., when Rammohun Roy was present to explain difficulties, and especially to remove the prejudice against reading the Bible. The eventful day was the 13th of July, 1830.....

"...Mr. Duff was ready. Standing up with Rammohun Roy, while all the lads showed the same respect as their own Raja, the Christian missionary prayed the Lord's Prayer slowly in Bengalee. A sight, an hour, ever to be remembered! Then came the more critical act. Himself putting a copy of the Gospels into their hands, the missionary requested some of the older pupils to read. There was murmuring among the Brahmans among them, and this found voice in the Bengalee protest of a leader.—'This is the Christian Shaster. We are not Christians; how then can we read it? It may make us Christians, and our friends will drive us out of caste.' Now was the time for Rammohun Roy, who explained to his young countrymen that they were mistaken. 'Christians, like Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson, have studied the Hindoo Shasters, and you know that he has not become a Hindoo. I myself

*No. 48, Chitpur Road, Jorasanko, was the historic building on which the native theistic church was at first housed; its owner was Ram Kamal Basu, well known as Feringhee Kamal Basu (*Mod. Rev.*, 1928, pp. 433-34). The institution was founded by Rammohun on 26th August 1828. Though generally known as the *Brumha Sabha* its real name was the *Brähma Samaj*, which is found in the title-page of the first discourse, delivered on 6 Bhadra 1750 Saka, by the minister—Ramchandra Sharma,—a copy of the original edition of which I happen to possess.

have read all the Koran again and again, and has that made me a Mussulman? Nay, I have studied the whole Bible, and you know I am not a Christian. Why, then, do you fear to read it? Read and judge for yourself. Not compulsion, but enlightened persuasion which you may resist if you choose, constitutes you yourselves judges of the contents of the book.' Most of the remonstrants seemed satisfied.

Daily for the next month did the Hindoo reformer visit the school at ten for the Bible lesson, and frequently thereafter till he left for England, when his eldest son continued to encourage the boys by his presence and their teacher by his kindly counsel. But all the Christian missionaries kept aloof.**

In grateful remembrance of the help derived from 'the Erasmus of India,' Duff wrote thus in the letter in which he introduced Rammohun to Dr. Chalmers: " .. He has rendered to me the most valuable and efficient assistance in prosecuting some of the objects of the General Assembly's Mission."†

**The Life of Alexander Duff*, by Geo Smith, i. 40, 112—22.

†*Ibid.* i. 132.

III.—The Puri Copper-plate-grant of Dharmmaraja (Samvat 512 or 590 A. D.)

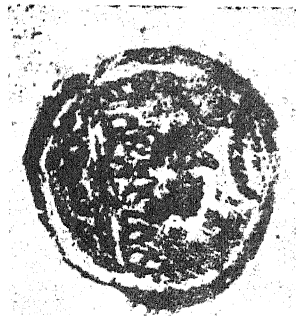
By S. N. Rajaguru.

The present set of copper-plates were found in the Uttara-pārśva temple of Puri. In the last week of December, 1927. I got information about it and approached the Mahanta Mahārāja, who gladly permitted me to examine the plates, and helped me to take the rubbings without breaking the ring with which the plates are hinged.

The present set consists of three plates of which the front side of the first plate is left blank; and the back side of the third plate contains only five lines of subject matter relating to the inscription. The back side of the first plate, both the sides of the second plate and the first side of the third plate contain 14 lines each.

Each plate measures $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$. At a distance of about $\frac{1}{2}''$ from the edge of each plate there is a hole, $\frac{3}{8}''$ in diameter, through which runs a copper-ring. The ring holding the plates is $\frac{1}{2}''$ thick and $4''$ in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into a circular seal, which is $\frac{1}{2}''$ thick, $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter and $4\frac{1}{2}''$ in circumference; and on it is fixed an image of the lying-bull. Below this couchant-bull there is a legend of about six alphabets inscribed in Kuṭilākṣara which are invisible and in unreadable condition. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims to protect the writing.

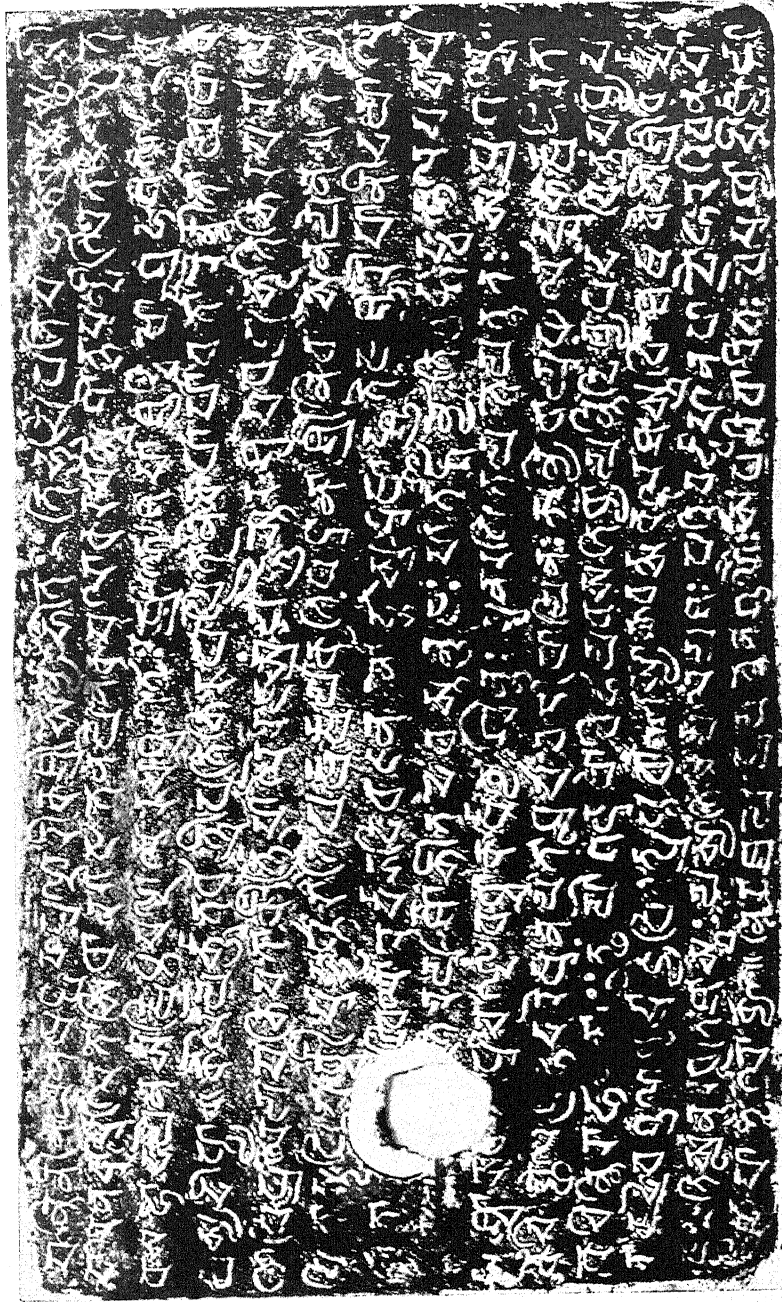
The language of the inscription is pure Sanskrit. It contains twenty-two ślokas in total, including three from 'Mānava-dharmmasāstra'; of which six are in 'Vasanta tilakā', five in Śārdḍulavikrīḍita', five in 'Anuṣṭubha', three in 'Sragddharā', one in 'Indravajrā', one in 'Puṣpitāgrā' and one in 'Nardatakam' and the rest is in prose. It seems to be composed by Mahāsāmanta Gōṣāla Dēva, and inscribed by Pēṭapāla-Balavarmma and Śtavīravṛddha.



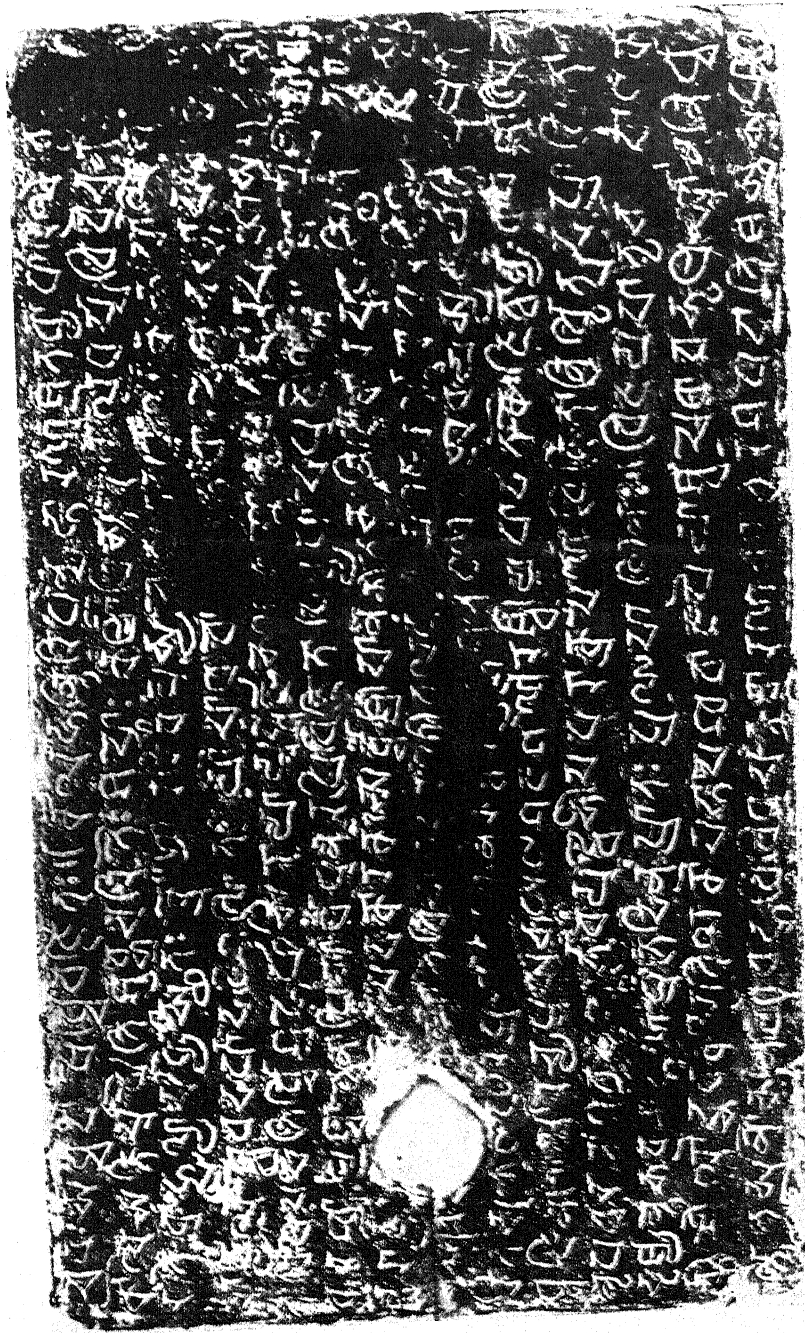
Puri Copper-plate Seal of Dharmmarāja
(Samvat 512).

J. B. O. R. S. 1930.

J. B. O. R. S. 1930.

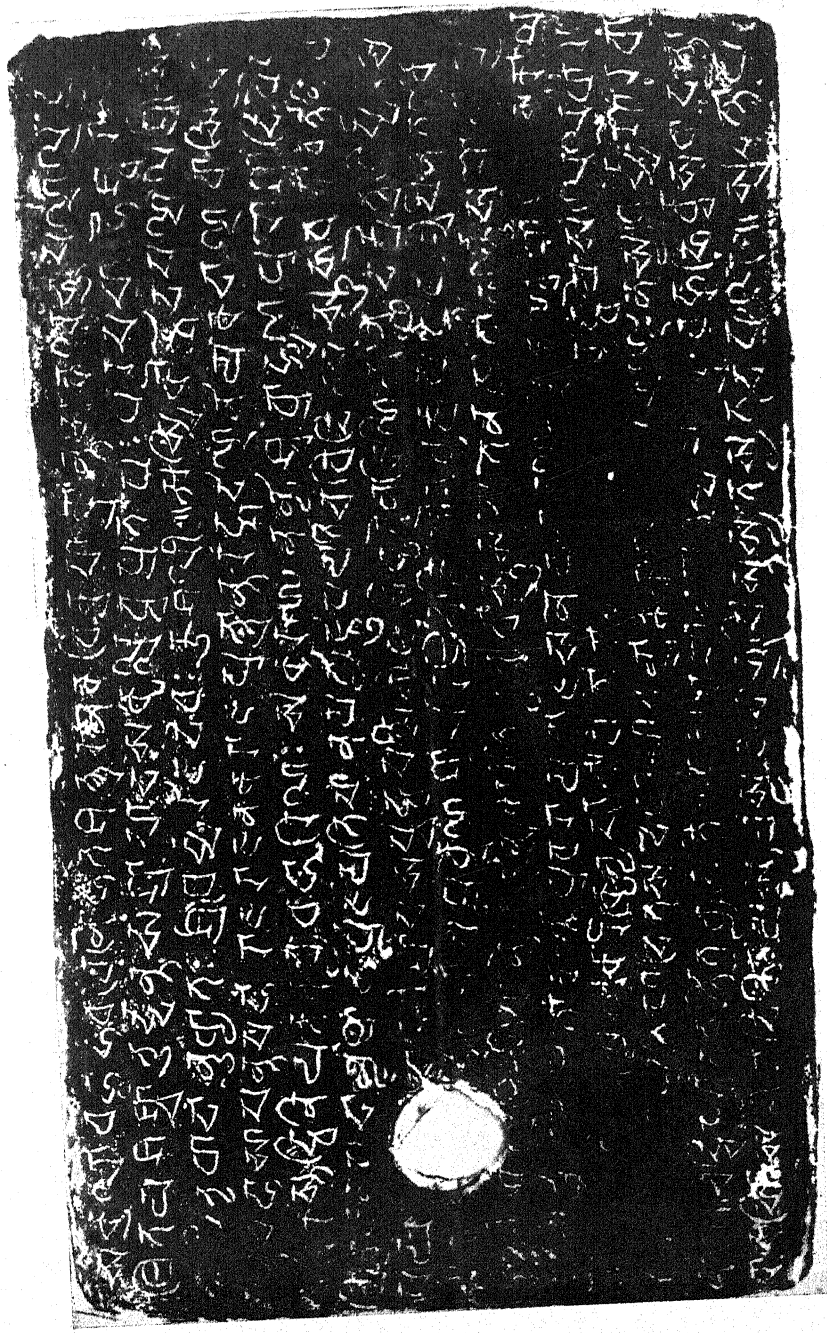


Puri Copper-plate of Dharmmarāja (Samvat 512).



Puri Copper-plate of Dharmmarāja (Samvat 512).

J. B. O. R. S. 1930.



Puri Copper-plate of Dhammarāja (Samvat 512).

J. B. O. R. S. 1930.



Puri Copper-plate of Dharmmarāja (Samvat 512).

J. B. O. R. S. 1930.

The date of the inscription is given in line sixty-one, in numerical symbols only. It is Samva (t) 512, Vaiśākha śu, di, 8. Probably it refers to the 512th year of the Śaka-era, which had been generally used by the early kings of Madhya-Kalinga. Hence, we can say that it was granted in 590 A. D.

The present grant is very important for the following reasons :—

(a) It is the largest grant yet discovered of the Śailōdbhava Kings of 'Kōṅgada-Maṇḍala' (The modern Orissa and Ganjam), containing 61 lines.

(b) It gives the pedigree of the Śailōdbhava line to a longest geneological table (see the table at the end of this article).

(c) This is the only record from which we find the name Tīvara, probably the King of later Gupta line of Northern-Orissa.

(d) It gives the history of a civil-war, fought between Dharmmarāja and Mādhava, the two brothers, for a claim to the throne, at a place known as 'Phāsik'.

This inscription records the grant of Duka-grama, in the village of Dōṅgi, which was in 'Kōṅgada-Maṇḍala', made by Dharmmarāja alias Śrīmānabhīta, son of Madhyamarāja, to the Brahmin Gōlasv mi by name, who was belonging to the 'Jātōkarṇṇasa Gōtra', Vasishthā trēya Jātōkarṇṇasa pravara, Vājasanēya Charaṇa, and Kaṇva Śākhā; and whose sir-name was 'Māsika'.

The alphabets employed belong to the old Nāgari type (Kuṭilākṣara); and the characters are like those used in Orissa and Gañjam of 'Sailōdbhava' and early 'Kara' Kings. In about the orthography, I would merely draw attention to the following points :—

(a) There is a little difference between 'ṇa' and 'ḷa'; 'ka' and 'bha'; 'va' and 'dha' (see lines 1, 2 and 34).

(b) In this inscription three kinds of 'tha' and two kinds of 'cha' are used (see lines 13 and 30; and 4).

(c) No distinction is observed when 'ba' and 'va' are used.

(d) There is a little difference between 'e'-kāra and 'i'-kāra symbols.

(e) In many places 'Visarga' symbol is omitted.

(f) In two places instead of 'n' 'anusvāra' symbol is used.

This has been used in the copper-plate grants of many Kalinga Kings of this locality. Hence it can be inferred that in those days no distinction was observed between 'n' and 'Anusvāra'-symbols. (See lines 11, 26 and 38.)

(g) No distinction is observed between 'ra'-kāra and 'r'-kāra symbols. The same method has been adopted in the plates of the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga as well as of Orissa.

TEXT.*

[First plate. Second side.]

(1) Ōm⁽¹⁾ svasti [1] Indōr—ddhanta mṛṇāla tantubhir=
iva (h) śliṣṭāḥ karaiḥ komalair=baddhā=hēr=arupai (h).

(2) sphurat=phaṇa maṇair=ddigdha prabhā-ōmśubhiḥ [1]
Pārvvatyā sakacha graha vyatikara vyāvṛtta va—

(3) ndḥ ślethā gangā=mbhaḥ pluti bhinna bhasma kaṇikā
sambhōr=jaṭā (h) pāntubaḥ ⁽²⁾ || Prāmsur=mahēbha.

(4) karapīvara chāru bāhu kṛṣṇā=śhma⁽³⁾ samchaya
bibhēda visāla bakshā [1] Rājība kōmaḷa daḷā=yata lō—

(5) chanāntaḥ khyātaḥ kalinga=janatāsu Pulimdasēnaḥ ⁽⁴⁾ ||
tēnē=tham guṇinā=pi satva mahatā nēṣṭam bhu—

(6) Vā maṇḍalaṁ śaktō yaḥ paripālanāya jagataḥ kōnāma
sasyād=iti [1] Pratyā=disṭa bibhū=tsavē—

(7) na bhagavān=ārādhitā śāśvatas=tach=chittā=nugu-
nam bidhi=tsur—adisad=bāmebhām svayambhūr=api⁽⁵⁾ [11].

(8) saśi (lā śaka) lōdbhēdī tēnā=pyā=lōkya dhīmatā [1]
parikalpita tadvamsaḥ prabhūḥ Śi—

(9) lōdbhavaḥ kṛtaḥ ⁽⁶⁾ [11] Sailōdbhavyaḥ kulōjō⁽⁷⁾=Rana-
bhīta āśid=yēnā=sakṛt=kṛtabhiyām dvishad=amganā—

* From the original plates (1) Denoted by a symbol (2) Śārdūla vikṛdita vṛttaṁ (3) Read 'kṛṣṇāśhma'. (4) Vasantatilaka vṛttaṁ (5) Śārdūlavi-kṛdita vṛttaṁ.

(6) Anusṭubh chhanda. (7) Read 'kulajō'.

(10) nām [1] jyōtsnā prabōdha samayē svadhi yaiva sārddham=ākampitō nayanapakshma jalēshu chandraḥ⁽¹⁾ [11] Tasyā=bha—

(11) vad=bibudha pāla sakhasya sūnu (ḥ) Śrī Sainyabhīta iti bhūmipatir=gariyām [n] [1] yam prāpya nē [nai]—

(12) kaśata nāga ghaṭā bighaṭṭa labdha prasāda vijaya (m)=mumudē dharittrī⁽¹⁾ || Tasyā=pi vamsē=(12) tha yathārtha nāmā jātō=yasōbhīta iti kshiti=śaḥ [1] yēna prarūḍhō=pi subhais=chari.

(14) trair=mr̥ṣṭaḥ kaṣamka (ḥ) kaḷidarpanasya⁽²⁾ [11] jātō=tha tasya tanayaḥ sukṛtī samasta sī—

[Second plate. First side.]

(15) mantinī nāyana=shaṭpada—puṇḍarīka (ḥ) [1] Śrī Śai nyabhīta iti bhūmi patir=malēbha kumbhasthali—

(16) daḷana durlalitā=sidhāraḥ⁽³⁾ [11] jātēnayēna kamalā kara batsva gōttram=unmūlita (m) dina kṛtē—

(17) basahō=dayēna [1] samkshipta maṇḍala ruchas=cha gatāḥ prapāśam=āsud—vishō—grahagaṇā iva.

(18) yasya dīptyā⁽⁴⁾ || kālē yair—bhūta dhāttrī-patibhir=upachitā=nēka=pāpā=vatārāir—nītā yēshām ka—

(19) thā=pi pralāyam=abhimatā kirttimālair=ajasram [1] yajñais=tair=asvamēdha prabhutibhir=amarā la.

(20) mbhitās=tr̥ptim=ūrvīm=udrptā=rāti paksha ksh-ayakṛti paṭunā Śrīnivāsēna yēna⁽⁵⁾ || Tasyō=

(21) jjitā⁽⁶⁾ khilārēr—marudiva janano=dbhāsvad=ushnā-mṣu tējā sūrō māni dayālur=

(22) narapatir=Ayaśōbhīta Dēvas=tanūjah [1] mātangān=yōti=tungād=bahaḷa mada mu—

(23) chas=chāru baktrām prachandām badhvā karshatya khinnāḥ punarapi tayatē⁽⁷⁾ yatnataḥ sa pragalbhaḥ⁽⁸⁾ (||)—

(24) kēchich=chaila guha⁽⁹⁾ darēshu niyatā dhūmāvālī pāyinaḥ anyē vāyu phalā=mvu bhaksha niratā—

(1) Vasantatilaka vṛttam. (2) Indra vajrā vṛttam.

(3) Vasantatilaka vṛttam. (4) Vasantatilaka vṛttam.

(5) Here the 'chhanda rule is not observed. (6) Read. 'Punarapi yatatē'

(7) Sragddharā vṛttam.

(8) Read: 'Guhā'

(25) kêchin = nirâ bârakâ (h) [1] ittham yôga jushô bihâya vasati (m) dhyâyanti divyam Padam chittram Madhyama.

(26) Râja Dêva gunâdhrg-râjyê-pi tat-prâpta vâu [n] (1) Tasyâ-bhavat-sakala Śâstra bisêsha vêdî Śrî Dharma Râ.—

(27) ja iti Sûnur-adhîta śâstrah yasyâti nirmaḷa yasah parivarddhamâna pâdau harêr-iva namâ.—

(28) yita mām tr [tri] lôkyâm [11] (2) Nirâsrayai prayat-nêna gunâihsa parivâritah [1] vaimukshyâ dirshayâ.

[Second plate. Second side.]

(29) cha = ivaḥ [va] sarvva dôshair = vvivarjitaḥ (3) || kâlê-hantiripûn = mahâraṇa sata vyâpâri (4) labdhô = nnataḥ [tiḥ]

(30) kâlêsa [sa] kti mupaiti subbhra chritaiḥ Śambhō kathâ bistarai (h) [1] kâlê dharmma bivêshanâya ni.—

(31) ratô brâmhanya madhyê sthitaḥ krônêchârêr = iva yasya chêshthita maḷam lôkah samâlôkatê (5) ||

(32) Râjyam labdhvaiva darpâd = avigani tanayô Mâdhavô jyêshthâ bhâvâtêśâd = asmâd = apâsta kr.—

(33) ta bishama matir = vvigrahê Phâsikâyâm [1] yuddha kshôbhêna bhagnô nrpatiparam = asan samśrtês-Ti—

(34) varâ = khyâm paschât = tēnâ = pi sârdham punarapi vijitô Vindhya pâdêshu jîrnnah (6) || Śauryam Śrîr-yauva—

(35) nam râjyam = êkaikam madakârakam | Sarvvaḥ Śrî-mân = Abhîta sya nirbbikâram = upasthitam (7) || Tura—

(36) ga khurâ = bhaghâta bidalad = dharanî talaja (m) jayagaja-karṇa châmara bidhûnana visphu—

(37) ritam [1] subhata bêra prasarpaṇa niruddha kakup = gaganam vaḷamadûratô yasya jayati dvishatâm—

(38) brjinâm (8) || Ârachya prasabham ghatâ gajaganair = asviya pâdâtakaiḥ jîtvanyâm [n] baḷa sâlinâ [nô]—

(39) nrpavarân = nâgatya dr̥shêtêr = bhuvam [1] yuddhê bhîma parâkramêna vijitâ nibrt = padam prâpitâ (1).

(40) dr̥syantê bhavanâ = mganê pratidinam prâtaḥ prañâmâr-thinah (9) || Vijaya mâtr chandra pâtakâ—

(1) Śârdûlavi krîdita vrttain (2) Vasanta tilaka vrttam (3) Anushṭubha vrttam (4) Read 'vyâpâra'.

(5) Śârdûlavi krîdita vrttam (6) Sragddharâ vrttam (7) Anushṭubh chhandam (8) Nardâṭakam (9) Śârdûlavikrîdita Vrttam.

(41) ch = chrī Śailôdbhava kula tilakô mahâmakha bājapê-yâ
= svamêdha babhṛtha snâna nirvvi—

(42) rñṇita sūnô-stanayô Banga (?) bibidha matta bâraṇa
vara turaga padâti Śastra sampâta.

[Third plate. First side.]

(43) saṁkuḷa bahvâ = haya binihata śattṛ = anêka vikramâ =
krânta sakaḷa bhūmaṇḍala pra—

(44) thita yaśa [â] ś = châturddanta saṅgrâmâd-asakṛl =
labdha pratâpaḥ parama mâtêsvarô mâ—

(45) tâ pitṛ pādânudhyâtaḥ Śrī Dharmmarāja Dêvaḥ
kuśali = Asmi (n) Kōṅgada-maṇḍala Śrīśâ.

(46) manta mahâsamanta mahârāja rāja puttrântaramga—
daṇḍanâyaka daṇḍapâsika.

(47) parika stad = viniyuktaka vyavahâriṇaḥ sakaraṇân =
anyamêcha brâmhṇa putagâ = di vaisha—

(48) yika janapadân = yathâha [yathârham] pūjayati mâna-
ya-tyâ = jñâ payati cha veditâm = astu bhavatâm Varttini vi—

(49) shayê * Domgī grâma samvaddha matsinî paribṛtêna
kiniyâ chhêda kshêtra tēpiradva—

(50) ya kaika Duka grâmê pūrvêna grâma rathyâ dakshinêna
brksha paṁkti (ḥ) paśchimêna tatâka (ḥ)

(51) uttarêna pathas = sîmântêna kâmsa kâra bhiṭṭâka bâstu
samêtêna jâtô [tu] karṇasa gôṭtrâya

(52) Vâsishtâttrêya Jâtô [tu] karṇa pravarâya Vâjasanêya
charaṇâya Kâṇva Śâkha Mâsikâ = khya

(53) Gôḷasvâmin-asya akarī kṛtya mâtâpitṛôr = âtmanaś = cha
punyâ = bhi brddhayê salī^a dhârâ

(54) puras-sarêṇa prati pāditaś = tad = êshâm = âchandrârka
kâla samupabhujân = asya dharmma gauravaṁ

(55) nakênachid = vighâtam = iti || uktamêcha Mânava-dharm-
maśâstré [:] Bahubhir-basudhâ dattâ—

(56) râjabhiḥ sagarâdibhiḥ [1] yasya yasya yadâ bhūmis =
tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || (1) Svadattâm pa—

(1) Anushtubh Chhandam.

*A village known as ' Vartini ', still goes under that name, is situated in the
Aṭhagaḍa Taluk of Ganjam.

[Third plate. Second side.]

(57) ra dattāmvā yô harēta basumdhārām sa viśṭhâyām
kṛmirbhūtvā pīṭrbhiḥ sahapachyatē || (1)

(58) Iti kamaḷadalāmva bindu lōlām Śriyaṃ-anuśintya
manushya jīvitāṃcha [1] sakala—

(59) mida mudāhṛtam hi budhvā nahi purushaiḥ para-
kīrttayō bilōpyā (h) || (2) Dutakōttra ma—

(60) hā Sāmanta Goshāḷa Dēva vṛhad-bhōgī Sāmanta [e]
nā-likhitam Pētapāla—

(61) Balavarumēna utkīrṇam Sthavīra Vṛddhēna [nē]-ti ||
Samva (t) 512 vaiśākha, su. di. 8.

TRANSLATION OF VERSES.

1st Ślōka :—Hail ! Let ye be saved by the matted hair of Śiva, which is embraced by the moon with his tender-hands (beams) resembling the clean fibres of a lotus-stalk, whose radiance is besmeared with the tawny rays of the bright gem of the great serpent (of Śiva), whose tie becomes loose when Pārvati seizes Śiva by the hair ; and from which the particles of ashes are washed away by the leaps of the Gangetic water.

2nd Ślōka :—Pulindaśēna, the tall and the famous king of the people of Kaliṅga had a pair of arms as beautiful and corpulent as the trunk of a big elephant, a chest as broad as a slab of big-black-stone and was charming with a pair of eyes, looked like the tender petal of a lotus.

3rd Ślōka :—The king, thus adorned with qualities and possessing of great prowess did not like to rule over the world and rejected the royal insignia and worshipped the eternal being with a view to find out the man fully capable of governing the world. The ' self-born God ' also gave him the boon, which he so dearly desired.

4th Ślōka :—The clever king saw a man coming out splitting up a slice of stone, and made him king by the name of Śailōdbhava, and his dynasty went after his name.

(1) Anuśṭubh chhandam.

(2) Pushpitāgrā.

5th Ślōka :—In this family was born a king Aranabhīta by name, who, very often frightened the handsome ladies of his enemies, and who, at the time of moon-rise made their hearts as well as the moon tremble in the water of their eye-lashes.

6th Ślōka :—This king, the friend of Devendra (the king of heaven), had a son Śrī Sainyabhīta by name. He was a great king, and destroyed hundreds of elephants with pleasure and won the victory, and with him the earth rejoiced.

7th Ślōka :—In his family was born Ayaśōbhīta of significant name, who wiped out the growing stain of the 'kali'-mirror with his noble deeds.

8th Ślōka :—His son was the pious Śrī Śainyabhīta, who was just like a lotus to the black-bee-like-eyes of all the paragons of beauty, and who was very fond of striking the chest parts of big elephants with the edges of his swords.

9th Ślōka :—As the sun brightens the lotuses with his own rise and makes the planets void of their lustre, so also the king elevated the royal-family by his birth, and also he lessened the arca of the kingdoms of enemies and made them destitute of vigour by his own prowess.

10th Ślōka :—The king quite competent of subduing the adherents of the proud enemies, and the abode of the Goddess-Lakshmi could with his innumerable glorious deeds wipe out the memory of the people, even the popular deeds multiplied by the kings of the iron-age of vice-incarnation and greatly satisfied the heavenly beings with 'horse-scrifices,' and the like.

11th Ślōka :—The king, who utterly defeated all his enemies, had a son, Ayaśōbhīta by name, who was valiant, kind, proud, possessing of prowess like the hot rays of the sun and could run as swiftly as the wind. He repeatedly and carefully tied and dragged the fierce and big elephants of *five* faces in rut with ease.

12th Ślōka :—For the attainment of the divine peace, people left their abodes and practised 'yōga' in the caves. Some of them inhaled smoke, others lived by taking air, fruit

and water, while others lived without taking anything. But it is a matter of surprise ; for the king, Madhyamarāja, of his noble qualities obtained it (the peaceful-living) in his own kingdom.

13th Ślōka :—Śrī Dharmmarāja, son of the former king, studied the Śāstras and knew the peculiarities of them. Even the three worlds could not hold his ever-increasing fame as the feet of the eternal being.

14th Ślōka :—The good qualities finding their props nowhere, surrounded him very carefully where of all the voices became envious and abandoned him, as he did not even turn his face towards them.

15th Ślōka :—The king, who acquired great prosperity engaged himself in hundreds of battles and dispowered the enemies when necessity occurred ; and some times he raised the spiritual power by going through the pure extensive deeds of Śiva ; and some times engaged himself in discussing the religious doctrine with the Brahmins. So his work was highly appreciated by the people as those of Kārtikēya, the destroyer of Krauñcha.

16th Ślōka :—Having got the kingdom by the right of premogeniture he had to banish Mādhava from his country, who was so proud as to not consider the science of politics and was of unbecoming mind to fight with him at Phāsik. Mādhava being then baffled and disappointed in this fight, resorted to the great king Tivara by name and was again defeated with his ally ; decayed at the foot of the ' Vindhyas '.

17th Ślōka :—Each of heroism, wealth, youth and kingdom is a source of arrogance. But all these assembled in Śrī Mānabhīta without slightly changing his nature.

18th Ślōka :—His army, which bruised the surface of earth by the strike of hoofs of the horses, which greatly agitated with the chāmara-like-ears of the war-elephants, and which obstructed both the heaven and earth as well as the directions by the march of the soldiers, defeated the lofty army of the foes.

19th Ślōka :—The king could make a great pomp violently assembling the elephants, horses and the infantry and could defeat even the powerful kings at his very sight. The kings, defeated in battles by this king of tremendous prowess, and reinstated by him to their former kingdoms, were seen every daybreak in the court-yard of his palace to show their due regards to him.

The sixteenth verse of this inscription deserves a detailed elucidation, as it relates to two facts of historical importance. In this very verse there is the mention of a civil war fought between Dharmanarāja and Mādhava, the two brothers (?), of whom the latter conspired for the throne, thus dragging the former to the battle-field of Phāsik, a place of curious interest in the historical geography of Orissa. Secondly it is there stated that one king, Tivara by name, helped Mādhava and was at last defeated by Dharmanarāja *alias* Śrīmānahlīta in the same battle-field.

From the copper-plate inscriptions of 'Kara' and 'Śailōdbhava' kings of Orissa, in common the name of 'koṅgada' is mentioned, evidently as a vital part of their kingdom in 'Dakṣiṇa-Tosāli' and 'Utkala'. This part can be located between the modern Khordā and the river Rushikulya, of which the central part is the present Khalikota taluk. A big village in Āṭṭagada (Ganjam) still goes by the name of Phāsi, which is evidently an abbreviation of Phāsik. It is situated about 18 miles from the Khalikota Railway station. And about four miles to the east of this village there lies a gerat field, surrounded by mountains and hills, of which one is called 'Kṛshṇa-giri'. We learn from the C. P. grant of Mādhava Varmā of Śailōdbhava dynasty,* discovered from Bugudā, a village not far from this part, that this part of the country once was known by the name of 'Kṛshṇa-girivishaya'. Some scholars assume that this 'Kṛshṇa-giri', mentioned in the inscription of Mādhava-Varmā, is no other than the distinguished 'Nīlagiri' of Indian epics, which refers to modern Puri.

* See Ep. Ind., Vol. vi, pp. 143-46.

But, however, I will be more right if I say that this huge hill of Khallikôṭa taluk is the same Kṛṣṇa-giri, mentioned in the plates of Mādhava Varmma.

On this mountain there appear some fine caves, once utilised for the meditation of Jaina priests; and a spring is flowing harmoniously from it, irrigating the broad expanse of a field lying at the foot of the hill. The place, with all its natural beauties and fortifications, leads one to believe that this might be the scene of the above battle. Besides, there are about 14 pagodas dedicated to both Śiva and Kālī, among which the temple of Mahālingêśvara is very important and attractive especially for the epigraphists, as it bears near the door of its first entrance three slab-inscriptions of Anantavarmma Chôḍa-gaṅga Dêva of Gaṅga family, the emperor of Kalinga and Orissa (1077—1147 A.D.).*

For the above reasons I am rather tempted to locate the place, where the great civil war took place, in the said picturesque and illustrious rural tract of Khallikôṭa.

Now in the concluding paragraph I shall deal with another point of interest. Here, in this inscription, the mention of Tivara as a king of another dynasty is unquestionably a matter, which deserves a detailed elucidation. Who this Tivara was?

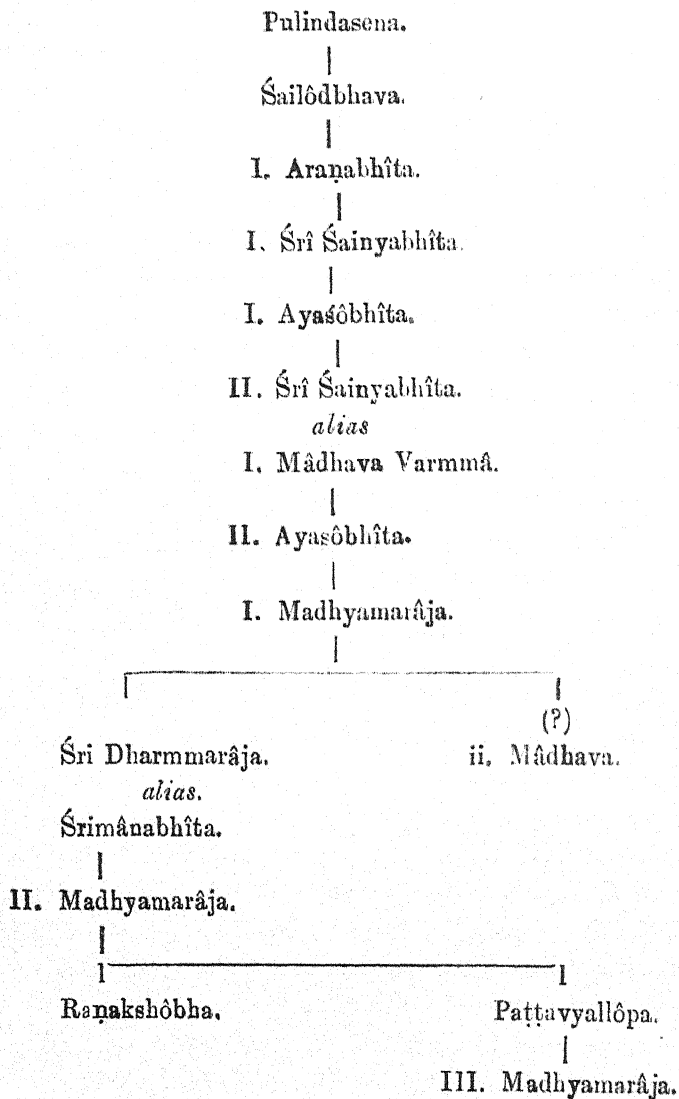
Evidently, we find the name Tivara Deva alias Mahâśivagupta in the chronological table of the latter Gupta line. He was the grandfather of Mahâśivagupta, the grandfather of the distinguished Yayâti of Orissa. These latter Guptas were the kings of Northern Orissa as well as of the Southern-Kôṣala Kingdoms when synchronously the 'Kara', the 'Sailôlbhava' and the early 'Gaṅga' kings were ruling over the great Kalinga-territory, extended from the river Mahânadī up to the river Lângulia. Śrīpura of Kôṣala and Yajñapura or Jâjapura of Utkala were the two main metropolis of the latter Gupta

* See my article published in 'Utkala-Sāhitya' (Oriya magazine of Cuttack), Vol. XXXI, Part 10, pp. 410—19.

kings. Hence, it is naturally easy to imagine that the Gupta king Tivara Deva of Yajñapura politically helped Mādhava of Kōṅgada, who was expecting the throne of his neighbouring kingdom. It is said, that Mādhava being defeated by Dharmmarāja, fled to a place of the Vindhyagiri, and there he faded away. This statement apparently corroborates my conjecture and leads me to believe that the king of Vindhyādrī might have been connected either socially or politically with Mādhava, as well as with the king of 'Kōṅgada Maṇḍala'. From the records of the later Gupta kings, we learn that Śrīpura was their headquarter which was not far from the Vindhya mountain. So, it may be well assumed, that the countries at the foot of Vindhyādrī, were included in the kingdom of Tivara Dēva. So, naturally in that capacity Mādhava, after being defeated by Dharmmarāja, went for shelter to a place, which was ruled by his friend Tivara Deva *alias* Mahāsiva-Gupta of the latter Gupta dynasty. From these above facts, we can easily think that Tivara Deva was a ruler contemporary of Dharmmarāja.

The central part of Kalinga country including a portion of Dakṣiṇa-Tōsali and Utkala was formed in a separate district called 'Kōṅgada' or 'Kanyōdha'. In the Indian classical epics or in the mythological stories of Hindusthan we never meet with the word 'Kōṅgada' or 'Kanyōdha'. Hence I think, Kōṅgada was merely a classified district of Utkala or Tōsālī like one of the 'Varttinis' of Kalinga; and never a Mahādeśa like Utkala or Kalinga. The name 'Kōṅgada', I think, might have been derived from the conjunction as well as the contraction of words 'Kalinga' and 'Oḍa'. 'Oḍa' is a country, from which the name 'Oḍisā' is derived. Therefore, the country, which was situated between 'Kalinga' and 'Oḍa' was usually, according to the 'Sandhi' rules, called by the name of 'Kaliṅgōḍa'; and that consequentially changed into 'Kaṅgōḍa' and 'Kaṅgoda' and 'Kōṅgoda', respectively.

The Genealogical Table of the Śailôdbhava dynasty.*



* This table is arranged by the help of more than one C. P. inscriptions of the Śailôdbhava kings of Orissa.

IV.—A note on the Hati-gumpha inscription of Emperor Kharavela.

By Narayana Tripathi, B.A.

The people of the country comprising the ancient Kalinga Empire, particularly the Oriyas of the present day must remain ever thankful to Mr. Jayaswal for his valuable and reliable contributions about the Hâtî-gumphā inscription of the Emperor Khāravēla and thereby bringing to light one of the glorious chapters of their past but now totally forgotten history.

The reading of some portions of the inscription has undergone changes and in places radically. To remove any misunderstanding Mr. Jayaswal says " My own object has been to reach the truth—the original writing and real meaning " (J.B.O.R.S., Volume XIII, parts III-IV, page 237). Following him I venture to offer the following few lines by way of suggestions for consideration of the scholars in order to enable them to examine some interpretations from different stand-points for finding out their real meaning.

I. During the earlier period, i.e., 1917-18, the inscription was being designated as " Hāthî-gumphā inscription " but during 1927-28 " Hāthî " has been changed into " Hathi ". But the reason why the word should be " Hāthî " or " Hathi " is not at all understood. To our mind the correct expression is " Hâtî " by which name it is called by the people of the locality and is known to the current Oriya literature.

II. *Aira*.—This word " Aira " occurs both in this and in the Mañchapuri inscriptions. Had it been confined to the Hâtî-gumphā alone, Mr. Jayaswal " would have read, on the materials, Aila not Aira " (J.B.O.R.S., Volume XIII, parts III-IV, page 246). He thinks that Aira has been used in place of " Aila " and " for the change of l into r " he refers us to line 11—vide J.B.O.R.S., Volume XIV, part I, pages 150-151. The supposed use of " r " in place of " l "

or vice versa, in this line, appears to be in the latest read word "Tramira". Assuming that this reading stands, it is yet to be proved that the old name of "Tamil realm" was "Tramiḷa" and not "Tramira".

From the Mahābhārata we learn that after the annihilation of the Kṣatriya race by Jāmadagnya Rāma, persons who subsequently became known as Kṣatriyas in this earth were *avarajam*, low born or inferior in birth. All the ruling Kṣatriyas and other Kṣatriyas living on the face of the globe made themselves known as descendants of Aila or of the family of Ikṣvāku. Each of these families, the Ailas and the Ikṣvākus had one hundred branches (vide Sabhā, Chapter 14, verses 2—5). This passage is repeated with verbal modifications in some Purāṇas but the word "Aila" is not used in all of them; e.g., Brahmanḍa uses "Aiḍa" in place of "Aila" (vide Chapter 33, verses 45—50, Bāṅgavāsī edition). Vāyu uses "Aiḍa" in some places and "Aila" in others (vide Chapter 32, verses 45—55, and Chapter 99, verses 440—50 respectively, Bāṅgavāsī edition).

Utkala, the founder or one of the remotest rulers of the kingdom of Utkala, was the eldest son of Emperor Sudyumna *alias* Ilā (Bhāgavata—ninth Skanda—Chapter I, and Khila Harivaṁśa—Chapter XI). Even Kalinga, the founder of the kingdom of Kalinga, was a son of Vaḷi of Aila (Lunar) race (Bhāgavata—ninth Skanda, Chapter 23; Khila Harivaṁśa—Chapter 81).

If the supposition that "Aira" of the inscription stands for Puranic "Aila" be correct then the expression can be explained by itself, independent of "Chedis" of Mahākosala, to one of whose branches the family of Khāravela is supposed to have belonged.

The word "Irā" occurs at several places in Khila Harivaṁśam, once as the name of one of the first Mothers, a wife of Sage Kaśyapa, from whom the vegetable world sprang, and again as the name of a son of Sage Kaśyapa by his wife Danu. From the Mahābhārata we find that Irā is the name of a

Devamātrkā, and also that of an *Apsarā*. But without any further details it is impossible to ascertain how far they were connected with the "Airas" of Orissa.

In Orissa there are at present many places and villages such as *Airipur*, *Airikanā*, *Airam*, *Arilo*, *Airisandha*, etc., which may be taken to have been derived from or to have connection with the word "Aira". There is also a sect called *Irika* living in Orissa. In the seven verses quoted by Mr. Jayaswal from the "Oriya manuscript" in J.B.O.R.S., III, part IV, p. 482, the word "Aira" has specifically occurred in four places and once as "Ahira" (presumably a mistranscript for "A-i-ra"). In all these five places "Aira" has been used as the name of the king. There is an old Sanskrit manuscript in the possession of a Brahmin at Bhubanesvara which contains brief accounts of various dynasties of kings who held sway over the Tri-Kalinga countries from time to time, and bore the title of "Tri-Kalingādhipati". The mention of Nanda Vamśa and Maurya Vamśa emperors of Magadha who subjugated Kalinga—particularly the account recorded about Aśoka as to how he engaged himself heart and soul for the promulgation of the Buddhist faith and how, in his zeal to carry out his wishes effectively, he destroyed the sacred Vedic books of the Brahmanas in the sacrificial fire of a mock yajña inaugurated for the purpose—stamps the MS. with antiquity and some genuineness. Dr. R. C. Panda, L.M.P., who was permitted to cast a cursory glance over a portion of the MS. has kindly sent me very brief gist of it and from this I find that after the Mauryas, a dynasty called Bhila Vamśa became the paramount lord over Kalinga. The kings of this line were Buddhist and were seven in number. Their names in succession were (1) Aira Bhila, (2) Khara Bhila, (3) Sura Bhila, (4) Nara Bhila, (5) Dara Bhila, (6) Sara Bhila and (7) Khara Bhila (no. II). Construction of a picturesque palace called "Rāṇi-hamsapura" at Khandāchala (i.e., Khandagiri), his capital, is attributed to this last king Khara Bhila no. II. After a long reign of 40 years, he was at last overthrown by a rising Hindu prince

Janmejaya by name, born in a region situated on the river Vaitarani. Babu Jagabandhu Sinha, M.L.C., the author of "Prāchīna Utkala" has calculated on the basis of the dates recorded in the above manuscript that the rule of the "Aira" dynasty came to an end in 89 B.C. Khara Bhila no. I, the second Emperor of the above list, may safely be identified with Khāravēla of the Hātīgumphā inscription; but it is very doubtful whether "Aira" in "Aira Bhil" was the name of the first emperor or his title. There are strong grounds to believe that it was a title and that the name of the first emperor was *Chitra* or *Chitraṇa* (see below). The Mañchapuri cave inscription may be assigned to the queen of the last king Khara Bhila no. II (for the form of its script see page 369 of J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IV, part IV).

All these however suggest that the word "Aira" was in actual use in Orissa since a very long past.

III. *Cheti Rāja*.—In the inscription, we come across the words "Cheta(ti)-Rāja-vasa-vadhanena" in line 1 and "Rājasi-vasa-kula-viniśrito" in line 17. Mr. Jayaswal is now certain that the word "Cheta" finally read as "Cheti" stands for "Chedi", the well-known vedic and classical ruling family and that the dynasty of Khāravēla belonged to the Chedi family.

Now, what is the significance of the word "Rāja" used between "Cheti" and "Vasa" in "Cheti-Rāja-Vasa"? It may mean either "in the family of King Chedi" or "in the family of the ruling dynasty of the Chedi country or countries". The latter explanation is not satisfactory. From the Purāṇas we find numerous renowned families ruling from time to time over the Chedi country or over different parts of it in the pre-Mahābhārata era. It is not certain whether the country was independent or what dynasty was actually ruling over it in the period corresponding to that of Khāravēla. The inscription itself which makes mention of some powerful kings is silent about it. In any case, this interpretation would make the family of Khāravēla indefinite and shadowy for identification.

The first explanation too is not fully convincing. The name of the founder of the Chedi dynasty is Chedi, son of Uśika according to Bhāgavata Purāṇa—vide 9th sk., Ch. 14, verse 2, or of Kauśika according to Khila-Harivaṃśa—vide Ch. 36, verses 20—22. This Chedi came of the family of Vidarbha, and the kings after him were known as *Chaidyas*. But neither King Chedi nor any of his successors have anywhere been mentioned as “Rājārṣis”. In the Purāṇas we generally come across words like, Raghuvamśa, Yadu-vamśa, Bhoja-vamśa, Kuru-vamśa, etc., and not Raghurāja-vamśa, Yadurāja-vamśa, etc., and the language of the inscription under reference is in prose and not poetry which admits of some superfluous letters or words for the sake of the metre or completion of the line. Besides, what is the significance of the word “*vadhanena*” coming immediately after “*Cheti-Rāja-Vasa*”? In any case the traditions connected with the house founded by King Chedi is not yet known to be such as to get a specific mention in what is obviously a Jain record, a biography of an ideal Jain King, in preference to one who first patronised or imported that religion to Orissa. It is also more reasonable to hold that Cheta-Rāja was the first founder of a dynasty in Orissa and not a remote ancestor of Khāravela.

The intention of using two words “*vasa*” and “*kula*” in “*Rājasi-vasa-kula-viniśṛito*” is not understood unless “*vasa*” is taken to be the name of a person. Certainly we do find an illustrious emperor *Vasu* by name in the Chedi country, and a whole chapter in the Mahābhārata, viz., chapter 62 in Ādi-Parva, is devoted to describe his glorious reign and achievements. He is definitely stated therein to be a Rājārṣi. He had five great sons each of whom was said to be the founder of an independent, but wide and lasting family. One of them was the famous Vṛhadratha of Magadha. Can this Rājārṣi Vasu be identified with the above “*Rājasi-Vasa*”? In that case “*Cheti*” in “*Cheti-rāja-vasa-vadhanena*” may signify Chedi country. But the difficulty is that the meaning of the rest of this passage remains obscure unless we take “*vasa*”

here to stand for "Vaiśā", family; and then, we are to face the criticism that we are giving *three* interpretations to the same word "vasa" occurring at different places in the inscription, viz., (1) *Vaiśā*, i.e., family, in line 1 in "Cheti-rāja-vasa-vadhanena", (2) *Varṣa*, i.e., year, in "Nanda-rāja-ti-vasa-sata, etc.," and in "terasa-vasa-satikam" in lines 6 and 11 respectively and (3) *Vasu*, the name of a king as in "Rājasi-vasakula, etc." in line 17.

A tradition has been recorded in the local *Prāchī Māhātmya* which may have some bearing in determining the dynasty of Khāravela, as traditions sometimes contain germs of historical truths. It is said therein that in ancient times *Chitra* Chandaḍa established a town (*pura*) on the banks of the *Prāchī* and lived there, being devoted to all "Janas". A certain *Brāhmaṇa* girl, *Utpalā* by name, lived with him as his wife. Owing to sin in previous life, she (or he) became childless in the course of time. Thus some time passed on and the moments of death arrived. The life of both *Chitra* and *Utpalā* left their mortal bodies, and the river *Chitrotpalā* which took its birth from the decomposition of both of them, became well known or renowned since that day in the land of *Utkalā Khaṇḍa*. They became two "*Līngas*" *Chitraka* and *Utpalā* by name on both the banks of the river. The river has borne the name of *Chitrotpalā* and since that day its water has become sacred and purifier of all sins.

Now let us see what is meant by the word "*Chandaḍa*" used as a qualifying epithet after "*Chitra*" when he is first introduced in the *Prāchī Māhātmya*. Surely it has not been used to convey the sense of contempt or to emphasise low origin, as the idea of holiness and reverence associated with his name is too apparent in the subsequent passages to admit of it. He led a pious life devoted to the "Janas". Although he lost his child or children apparently in his old age, the calamity is attributed to his sins not in this but in his past life. After the death of the husband and wife, their memory is carried forward to the posterity by naming the branch of the river on whose

banks they lived, after their names and by installing two "Śiva-Lingas," one on each bank of it. Nay, the branch of the river itself then became a sacred "tīrtha" and well-known in the country. On the whole, his life was so spotless that even the orthodox Hindu author of *Prāchī Māhātmya* could not help breathing a breath of admiration over it.

From the book "*Bauddha Gān O Dohā*" we find that the Buddhists of Orissa were divided into three sects, one of which was being called "*Chañḍāla*". It is pretty certain that the word "*Chañḍāla*" appearing after "*Chitra*" has been used in this technical sense and is intended to signify his non-vedic-faith.

Chitra was devoted to all "*Janas*". It is highly probable that the author of *Prāchī Māhātmya* actually used "*Jina*" which in course of time when the people at large forgot all about its technical or real significance, the subsequent MSS. writers changed it into "*jana*". In any case, it is beyond doubt that *Chitra* had a strong inclination towards Jainism, and most probably was a Jain himself.

The slokas from the Oriya MS. quoted by Mr. Jayaswal on page 482, J.B.O.R.S., Volume III, depict *Aira* to be a Buddhist. Even at the present day the *Hatī-gumphā* inscription is locally known as a Buddhistic record; but the scholars are unanimous in the view that the inscription proves beyond doubt that *Khāravēla Aira* was a Jaina and not a Buddhist. The *Prāchī Māhātmya* describes *Chitra* to be a *Chañḍāla*, i.e., belonging to a particular sect of the Buddhist religion. From these it appears that towards the end of the 13th century A.C. the people of Orissa at large forgot all about the nice distinction between Jainism and Buddhism and began to classify the followers of both the faiths, together under the general category of Buddhist.

Chitra is said to have established a "*pura*", i.e., town, on the banks of the *Prāchī* and lived there. This suggests that he was a king himself, as it would have been impossible for an ordinary man to establish a town at his will or pleasure,

however religious or powerful he might be. The fact that he had a Brāhmaṇa girl for his wife, also supports this suggestion, as in ancient times there were instances of powerful kings and emperors even of low origin marrying Brāhmaṇa ladies.

The Prāchī Māhātmya gives a hint about the location of the town founded by (King) Chitra, i.e., it was situated on the banks of Chitrotpalā where two Śiva-Liṅgas were installed. Pandit Krupasindhu Misra, M.A., in his work "Koṇarka" has maintained that the name of this town was "Chitrotpalā" which the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang pronounced as Cheli-tālo in the 7th century A.C. and that it was located on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā, now a completely dried-up branch of the Prāchī, in the neighbourhood of the present Koṇarka. But it may be said that there is also another spot in the Salepur thana of the Cuttack district containing equal proofs for the purpose of this identification. This spot is at a little distance from where the branch Chitrotpalā emerges from the main river, the Mahānadi. It contains some antiquities and signs of a big town and of a fortified fort once standing here. Here stood in ancient times the temples of Chitrakeśvara and Utpaleśvara, one on either bank of the Chitrotpalā. A name of the Prāchī was also according to the said Māhātmya, the Mahānadi. There are signs of a very old and long canal (now almost dried up) running over several miles in length and from the present Salepur this canal appears to have had a projection extending downwards where it is known as Asura-Khoḷā. This Asurakhola is now almost dry and at places levelled up, but its bed sometimes brings to light fragments of anchors, planks of si ps and other finds which indicate that it was once used for navigation purposes. From line 6 of the inscription we find that Khāavela brings into the town from the Tanasuliya road (or through the way of Tanasuliya) the canal excavated (or repaired) in the year 103 of Nanda era. In the case of this site, the following identifications, are suggested, viz.—

- (1) this canal.....with the one, signs of which are still traceable;

(2) Tanasuliyawith the present Salepur.

In case the location of the town Chitrotpalā be in the site as pointed out by Pandit Misra, then "Tanasuliya" can safely be identified with the present "Sailo" or "Tulasīpur" in the Nimapara thana of the Puri district, and the canal brought into the town through the way of Tanasuliya with the present "Sailo-joda" which looks more like a canal excavated in ancient times for the purpose of irrigation than anything else. The neighbouring village Arapato is supposed to be a corruption of "Aira-pattana" and the locality consisting of villages of Tulasīpur, Chaurasi, etc., contains unmistakable signs or relics of a big and fortified town once standing there. Even the names of the neighbouring villages such as Sān Bhilli, Bhilla Sāsan, Bhilla dauli, etc., remind one of the Bhilla dynasty of the Bhubaneshwar MS. referred to above, with whom the "Airas" are being identified.

Mr. Jayaswal is of opinion that "The Kalinga of Aśoka is situated between his Khandagiri (Dhuli) and Ganjam (Jaugarh) proclamations" and that "the Andhras on one side and the Kosalas on the other were 'unconquered' (avijita). Hence Kosala afforded a place of refuge for the independence of the legitimate rulers of Kalinga. During the time of weakness of the Maurya and Śuṅga dynasties, the 'Airas' who now called themselves Megha-vāhanas liberated Orissa once more"—J.B.O.R.S., Vol. III, part IV, pp. 484-485.

The *Śāralā Mahābhārata*—a work in Oriya written by poet Śāralā Dās in the beginning of the 15th century A.C.—makes mention of a fabulously rich country named Kosalā on the banks of the river Gandha; from the description it appears to have comprised the present States of Baud, Sonepur, etc. The Śūnya Saṁhitā, another semi-Buddhist work in Oriya, written nearly 50 years afterwards, says that the locality on the bank of the Chitrotpalā, where the temple of Chitreśvara stood, was included in the Kosalā country. We believe that the Kosalā country included at the time of Aśoka a substantial portion of the western and northern hilly tracts of Orissa and

that it remained unconquered as ever. Its capital was then shifted in all probability to some impregnable and out-of-the-way place to avoid an easy access of the invading armies of Aśoka, but when that danger was over and the process of reconquest of the conquered portion of Orissa began, it was again shifted on political grounds to the plains. King Chitra, who most probably flourished when this reconquest was either complete or nearing completion, founded a new town on the banks of Chitrotpalā, and made it his capital. This town continued to be the capital of Orissa till it was removed presumably on religious grounds to the Khandagiri by Khāravela in the 13th year of his reign after he scored a signal victory over the Emperor of Magadha even at his own capital.

The Hātī-gumphā inscription does not say anything about Khāravela's father. "Khāravela in his 16th year, that is, when he comes of age, begins to rule from the office of Yuva-rāja. It seems that the throne had been already vacant. This is further confirmed by the fact that his coronation had been waiting for the completion of the 24th year; as soon as that year was out, he was crowned (line 2)". J.B.O.R.S., Vol. III, page 438. The brief account of (King) Chitra quoted above says that he became childless, i.e., he lost his son or sons during his lifetime. We may therefore safely hold that Khāravela was Chitra's grandson and that his father died before he could be formally crowned a king, i.e., when King Chitra was still living. The phrase "Tatiye Kalinga-rāja-vamśa-purisa-yuge" occurring in line 3 of the inscription is probably intended to signify that Khāravela was the third successor in the male line of the Kalinga dynasty (founded by King Chitra).

Khāravela's grandfather was a Jaina but his grandmother was a Brāhmaṇa lady. Since his infancy he was brought up under her care and influence and this appears to have left a distinct impression upon his mind in as much as, though a Jaina, he used to show not only toleration, but patronage towards the Brāhmaṇas. His Mahārāja-abhiṣeka ceremony was performed according to the Vedic rites.

* * * * *

A tradition has been recorded in the Śāraṇa Mahābhārata which in all probability refers to Khāravela, as the author takes later heroes of Orissa and identifies him as one of the heroes of the Mahābhārata in a curious way. It is said therein that in ancient times there lived a Brāhmaṇa Rṣi Uddālaka by name. He had two wives—the first a Brāhmaṇa lady and the other belonging to the Śūdra caste. By his first wife he had two sons. Once he was going alone through a dense forest to the river Vaitaraṇī for a sacred bath, while on the way he was captured and forcibly married to Śrīyā, a Chāṇḍāla lady, daughter of Śāntika Chāṇḍāla living on Vadhu Kuṭa hill.* By this second wife, he got ten sons. At the time of his death the Brahmarṣi Uddālaka divided his State (Kingdom ?) into two equal parts. The sons born of the Brāhmaṇa lady took Śivapura which contained a very big Brāhmaṇa settlement while Uḍadeśa fell to the lot of the sons of the Chāṇḍāla or Śūdra lady. But the Chāṇḍālas did not long remain satisfied with their share but invaded Śivapura to bring it under their subjugation. This brought about a long and bloody war in which the Brāhmaṇas generally suffered, but they did not submit. In course of time the five Pāṇḍava brothers with their mother Kuntī, while wandering about in disguise after the lac palace of Indraprastha had been burnt, repaired to Uḍa-deśa for secret sojourn and arrived at the outskirt of Śivapura. There they found the very clean and wealthy house of a Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇu-Kara and came to know that he had been expelled from the town as he had no sons. They appeared before him as “Bhikṣukas” (persons living on alms) of “Chakra-bhikṣuka” class of “Nirañjana Dīkṣā,” (i.e., of the void worship or sun worship sect), chanted the first hymns of Udāna† and asked him to give them shelter under his roof. The Brāhmaṇa acceded to their request and Kuntī much pleased with his conduct blessed him to have sons. Through her blessings the wife of Viṣṇukara became

*The word appears as Vidu Kataka in a manuscript

†Udāna is a Buddhist scripture of hymns containing 82 sutras.

pregnant after a while, and when the news of this spread in the town, the citizens revoked the ban of son-less-ness imposed upon him and admitted him to their State Council. After sometime Yudhiṣṭhira with his three brothers went on a pilgrimage to the river Gomati for a sacred bath on some auspicious day, leaving Bhīma and mother Kuntī in their new home. While Bhīma was thus left alone, he one day saw mock-fights and heard a proclamation circulated in the town five days ahead asking the citizens to be prepared for the coming attack of the Chanḍālas on the Śrāvaṇa-pūrṇimā day, that had then become an annual feature. He ascertained the cause of this strife from Viṣṇu-Kara and made up his mind to take part in it and side with the Brāhmaṇas. He was conducted to their Council and garlanded and honoured by them as their champion and saviour. Then came the anticipated attack on the day fixed and during the first phase of it the ever-victorious Chanḍālas mercilessly fell upon the Brāhmaṇas and routed them. Bhīma was watching the scene from a safe place, unmoved and unconcerned, but when the real attack upon him and Viṣṇu-Kara took place, he fell upon the Chanḍālas with such fury and onslaught that they were completely vanquished and routed, and fled in disorder far beyond the town. The Brāhmaṇas overjoyed at this unexpected turn of events, did not miss the opportunity. They hotly pursued the already routed Chanḍālas, killed every one of them, not even excluding the old, young and the women-folk, plundered their riches, burnt their houses and thereby cleared the entire Uḍa-deśa of them (the Chanḍālas). Then a big festival was held on the bank of the river Gandha-nadī and all the Brāhmaṇas expressed in humble terms their gratitude to Bhīma for completely annihilating their very powerful enemies of long standing and thereby saving them from the humiliation of being treated as equal to the Chanḍālas in their every-day life and being forced to mix with them freely. He was unanimously elected as the Emperor over the two kingdoms of Uḍa-deśa and Śivapura and the Brāhmaṇas performed his Mahārājābhīṣeka ceremony.

according to the Vedic rites. Viṣṇu-Kara who was appointed as the Chief Minister, first repaired the old residence of this new king and then established a new town for his palace by working day and night. Bhīma then made himself known by the name of *Kālavera* and assumed the title of *Vīra Chakravartī* (the hero and emperor). He earnestly set himself to the improvement of the kingdom. He reclaimed many waste lands and forests and captured many big wild elephants by means of "*Khedā*." He raised a huge army, gave it daily military training and made it imposing and invincible, equipped for warfare. Within a very short time he also made his kingdom thoroughly protected, armed with all sorts of defensive measures. He conducted incessant invasions into foreign countries far and wide and thereby brought home vast wealth, gems and pearls of all kinds, chariots, horses and big elephants. He extended his kingdom by conquest of many lands. He became Mahārāja (Emperor) over many countries, towns, and forests. All the state officials used to perform their daily duties with utmost care and faithfulness and many Brāhmaṇas used to do him homage. In short he completely transformed the kingdom and made it very powerful, and that within a short time.

In course of time the other Pāṇḍava brothers returned from their pilgrimage, and arrived at Śivapura. But to their utter bewilderment they found the country in a completely changed condition, manifesting signs of prosperity and filled with numerous soldiers—foot, horse, elephant and chariot—and all the paraphernalia of a state on war-path. Apprehending that some foreign power had since taken possession of that kingdom they thought it wise not to enter the town during the day time. At dead of night they entered it—found their mother Kuntī in their old residence, and came to know from her that the so-called "*Kālavera Chakravartī*" of that kingdom was no other than their own brother Bhīma and that Viṣṇu-Kara their old patron and friend was his chief minister. They then appeared at the palace and made a request to have an interview with the

emperor, but their request was at first flatly refused and they had to go back to their forest shelter. At last Sumantra, the religious guide of the emperor, prevailed upon him after much persuasion and advice and made him yield to his brothers. Then Bhīma alias *Kālavera* summoned a Council of his subjects, expressed his intention to abdicate the throne as he had to go to the forests for penance and nominated Viṣṇu Kara as his representative. Thus renouncing the throne Bhīma followed his brothers to the forests on their way to various sacred places of pilgrimage.

Now let us see who this Bhīma alias *Kālavera* was. It is a fact that the poet Śāraḷā Dās has narrated in his work many stories and traditions connected with various ruling houses of Orissa, after interweaving them, with or without any modification, with those of different heroes of the original Mahābhārata. The present tradition is an example of this. Had not those traditions been so preserved they would certainly have gone to dark oblivion by this time. I should think this tradition actually relates to Emperor Khāravela of Hātī-gumphā inscription. It is probable that Khāravela by his action was locally designated as Bhīma of that age, and that in course of time when a period of nearly 15 hundred years passed on, people forgot the real identity and mistook him with the actual Bhīma of the Mahābhārata. In the printed book the name occurs as *Kālavera* but in one manuscript it appears as *Kālavera* and in another manuscripts as *Kālevara*. It is not known how this word appears in other manuscripts. In all probability the poet Śāraḷā Dās used the correct name, i.e. *Khāravela* and its present transformations owe their origin to the ignorance of manuscript copyists. In any case the reasonable inference is that Emperor Khāravela or his heroic deeds were not totally forgotten by the people of his own country in the 14th—15th century A.C. as at present. The account of him given in the above tradition tallies in spirit with his biography recorded in the Hātī-gumphā inscription. The new palace built for him apparently refers to that at Khandagiri.

In the above tradition he is said to have first entered the town as a Bhikṣuka and Khāraveḷa had a title of " Bhikṣu-Rāja " ; the name " Sumantra " is apparently a mistake for the word " Śramaṇaka ", i.e., a Jain ascetic.

The kingdom of Oḍa-deśa was under the Chaṇḍālas before Khāraveḷa siding with the Brāhmanas of Śivapura expelled them out of the country and was anointed as the Mahārāja. We have already said that the word " Chaṇḍāla " has a technical meaning and here it stands to signify the Buddhists of Orissa, a sect of which was formerly going by that appellation. After the conquest of Aśoka, a part of Orissa consisting of the conquered portion was being governed by his representatives, who and their successors were apparently followers of their " King's religion " i.e., " Buddhism ". When their power began to wane, the Brāhmanas apparently rebelled on religious grounds, as they said afterwards to Khāraveḷa that he saved them from the humiliation of being treated as equals to the Chaṇḍālas, i.e., followers of Buddhism which recognizes no caste restriction and admits everyone into its fold. The struggle was a long and protracted one in which the ever victorious " Chaṇḍālas " are said to burn the houses of Brāhmanas annually, practise all sorts of oppressions on them and on their womenfolk and often carry the latter away as booty of the war. This sort of barbarous revenge, if the allegations were correctly recorded, shows clearly that the rock edict proclamations of Aśoka the Great were being honoured by their breach by his own representatives, however justifiable such actions might have been on political grounds.

Before Khāraveḷa, neither Oḍa-deśa nor Śivapura was under any regular king. They are said to have managed their affairs by Councils of their own. From line 6 of the inscription we get hint of similar organizations of republican governments existing in other parts of India as well.

The inscription does not say anything what Khāraveḷa did after the 13th year of his reign. The above tradition says that under strong admonition of his religious guide, he gave up his

throne and repaired to the forests. This is perhaps a correct record of why the meteor-like career of this Napoleon of Orissa suddenly disappeared from the political horizon of India.

IV. *Māhāmegha-vāhana*.—Mr. Jayaswal says that "it means 'a descendant of Mahā. The latter was obviously the founder of the dynasty, the grandfather of Khāravela (line 3)'. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIV, part I, pages 150-151.

In the Mahābhārata we come across the word "*Megha-vāhana*" in the following verses where Śrīkṛṣṇa says to Yudhiṣṭhira that both Hamsa and Dīmbhaka, powerful and high-souled Vakra-Danta, Karuṣa, Karabha and *Megha-Vāhana* have accepted protection of the most powerful (emperor) Jarāsandha

"Aparau cha mahāvīryau mahātmānau samāsritau.

Jarāsandham mahāvīryam tau Hamsa Dimbhakāvubhau.

Vakra-dantaḥ Karuṣascha Karabho *Megha-Vāhanah*."

(Mahā-Sabha—Chap. 13, ver. 12-13, Baṅgabāsi edition.)

This chapter furnishes a list of important and powerful allies of the then Emperor Jarāsandha but here we do not find any mention of Kalinga. On the other hand the Khila Harivaṃśa distinctly mentions the ruling house of Kalinga to have been an important ally and constant companion of Jarāsandha and to have accompanied him in his visits to foreign countries. This leads to the supposition that the word "*Meghavāhana*" stands for Kalinga or to be more correct, to indicate the title of the Kalinga dynasty. But without any further details nothing definite can be said about it.

Mr. Jayaswal originally held that "Kosalā (of the Oriya manuscript) gives a clue to the history of Khāravela's family in the Purāṇas; that "amongst the dynasties which arose during the Andhra period, that is, after cir. 213 B.C. (their "post-Andhras") there was (1) the dynasty of Kosalā (south Kosalā), (2) who are commonly known as the "Meghas," (3) who are "very powerful" and "wise," (4) and whose kings were nine in number. By Meghas the

Meghavāhana style is indicated"—J.B.O.R S., Volume III, page 484.

It would be interesting to consider the following passages in this connection :—

“ मेकलायां नृपाः सप्त भविष्यन्ति च सत्तमाः ।

कोमलायां तु राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः ॥

मेघा इति समाख्याता बुद्धिमन्तो नवैव तु ।

नैषधाः पार्थिवाः सर्वे भविष्यन्त्यामनुजयात् ।

नलवंशप्रसूतास्ते वीर्यवन्तो महाबलाः । ”

Vāyu Purāṇa—Chapter 99, verses 374—77, Baṅgabāsī Edition.

“ *** मेकलाश्च सप्त कोशलायान्तु नवैव भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति ।

नैषधास्तु तावन्त एव भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति । ”

Viṣṇu Purāṇa—Fourth Part—Chapter 24, verse 17, Baṅgabāsī edition.

“ एककाला इमे भूपाः सप्तान्ध्राः सप्त कोशलाः ।

वैदूरपतयो भाव्या नैषधास्तु एव हि । ”

Bhāgavata—twelfth Skandha—Chapter 1, verse 33, Venkatesvara edition.

The word “ Komalā ” in the Vāyu is undoubtedly a mistake for “ Kosalā.” The Bhāgavata makes the number of Kosalā kings to be seven against nine in the Vāyu and the Viṣṇu. All these however suggest that they were Naiṣadhas, i.e., born of Nala's race.

V.—An incomplete Charter of a Somavamsi King, found at Ratnagiri.

By Narayana Tripathi, B. A.

Ratnagiri, a small hill in the Jajapur subdivision of the district of Cuttack, contains numerous antiquities of both the Buddhistic and Hindu periods. According to the local tradition Vasukalpa Kesarī, a king of the Kesarī line of Orissa, had a palace here. Both on this and on the Udayagiri hill which is at a few miles' distance to the east, there are some inscriptions in the Kuṭiḷa character. The District Gazetteer of Cuttack after describing some of its ruins and existing monuments gives an idea of its great archæological interest and concludes with the observation "It seems highly probable that excavation would be richly rewarded."

In 1914 a cultivator was carrying on agricultural operations in his field at the foot of this hill when he ploughed up the plate under reference. Suspecting it to be of gold he took it to a local goldsmith and got it tested by cutting off a bit from the left hand bottom corner. Unfortunately this bit contained the first two letters of the last line, which are therefore now wanting. The plate eventually came into the hands of the local zamindar Babu Dhaneshwara Das who has kindly lent it to me for decipherment.

It is very unfortunate that the entire charter which must have consisted of several plates could not be found. Only the front leaf is said to have been unearthed. The other leaves, together with the ring fastening all of them together, and the royal seal and the legend on it are all wanting.

The measurement of this front leaf is $15\frac{1}{4}" \times 8\frac{9}{16}"$. It is made of solid copper weighing two seers and 15 chhataks. It has a circular hole $\frac{7}{8}"$ in diameter bored through the left margin just at the middle. It has been inscribed on the obverse side and contains 18 lines. The letters are uniform and distinct and the script corresponds to what is known of the

11th—12th century A.C. The top horizontal line of the letters has a hook inside on the left, which may be taken as the precursor of the present rounded form of the current Oriya script.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit rendered into verses or ślokas. There are some spelling mistakes which I have indicated in the footnotes below the text. There are eight ślokas of four lines each. The second and the eighth ślokas have 14 letters in each line and in all others the lines are of 19 letters. The composition indicates a distinct development in the Sanskrit culture which was revived after the decline of the Buddhistic faith in Orissa.

The first śloka eulogises the Moon. The second śloka says that in his race, i.e., in the lunar race were born many illustrious kings possessed of all good qualities. The third śloka mentions three kings, namely Rājā Janamejaya, then (? his son) Yayāti who was followed by Śrīmān Bhimaratha. These three kings are said to have erected towers of victory in all the eight directions far beyond their kingdom. The next two ślokas, i.e. the 4th and the 5th are devoted to Dharmmaratha, Bhimaratha's successor; his sword was his only friend and he was like the head jewel among countless kings. He is said to have been out on Digvijaya and conquered countries from the Setu (presumably Setuvandha Rāmeśwara) to the Himalayas and from the Eastern sea (presumably the Bay of Bengal) to the Western mountains.

The sixth śloka describes Nahuṣa, brother of Dharmmaratha and presumably his successor, who was also very powerful. The seventh śloka apparently contains an allusion of some historical importance, which, with our imperfect knowledge of the past it is difficult to unravel; but the supposition is that Nahuṣa defeated the combined forces of the Karas, the Keśarīs and the Nāgavamśīs, and drove them to the forests. The eighth śloka introduces his younger brother king Yayāti who is styled as a world conqueror. He is also called a representative of Madhusūdana, the exact historical significance of which is not, without further elucidation, intelligible. With this Yayāti a fresh

chapter in the chronology of these kings is hinted by the use of the word "atha", but unfortunately our incomplete charter ends here.

As far as is known, nine inscriptions of this line of kings—six of Janamejaya, two belonging to his son Yayāti, and one of Bhīmaratha Yayāti's son—have yet been brought to light (vide Epi. Ind. III, XI, Proceedings of the As. Soc. Bengal, 1882, Journ. As. Soc., Bengal, Vol. XLVI, Part I, etc.). The importance of the present charter is that it mentions the above three kings in the third śloka, and carries the geneology still further to three or four successions downwards. Another important factor is that it reveals the names of two Yayātis and contains some historical allusions which when their significance is fully known, may prove useful for reconstructing the history of this dynasty.

In the previous inscriptions, cited above, Janamejaya, Yayāti and Bhīmaratha have been styled as "Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati". They have borne the usual imperial titles, and have made land grants in tracts now identified in the district of Cuttaok and in the Sonepur State. On palæographical considerations these grants have been taken to have issued in the 9th—12th century, A. C. These are the main grounds which have led many scholars to identify this line of "Somavamśi kings" with the "Keśarivamśi" kings mentioned in the *Mādala-pāṇji*, and to discard the latter as a mere myth and later interpolation in so far as it relates to the Keśarī period. The mention of names or designations such as Mahā-Bhava Gupta and Mahā Śiva Gupta in those inscriptions has also given occasion to diverse speculations. Some consider that Janamejaya was the son of king Śiva Gupta of Śrīpura, now identified with Sirpur in the Central Provinces—vide *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. XVII (1884), pp. 85-86, read with *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII (1889), pp. 179-181, and *Rajim Copper-Plate Inscription of Rājā Tivera Deva* (*Corpus Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 291). Some consider the line to have been connected with the Imperial Guptas of Magadha, while others consider it to be scion of the Bengal

Guptas. Some also have not hesitated to attribute non-Aryan origin to these kings. But it must be said in this connection that the materials supplied by those inscriptions are yet too scanty to warrant justification of such wide conclusions, or, to stamp the Temple Records of the Kesari period as fabulous and untrustworthy.

The present record does not make any mention of the above titles. Nor does it furnish any clue whether Janamejaya came from outside Orissa. It definitely asserts that the line was of the lunar race.

TEXT.

(OBVERSE SIDE.)

Line 1—Sign of Om Siddhiḥ, Jyotsnā śāli samṛddhibhūḥ
kumudiniḥāsaika sampādana () Dhūrtto Dhūrjjaṭi mouli sou—

Line 2—dhavasatiḥ pīyūṣa dhārā grhaṇi (i). Tārantaḥ
pura nāyako Ratipateḥ śastraika śānopala (i), kṣi—

Line 3—rodārṇāva nandano virjayate devaḥ sudhā dīdhitḥ
(||). Asyānvaye mabati sāndratamaḥ kaḷaṅka vi—

(a)
Line 4—chehhāpa digvaḷaya mārjjana kṛrochhaka-sya
(i) Utpedire sakala sadguṇa janma kandaḥ kundāvadāt ya—

Line 5—śaso jagatī bhujaste (||) Rājābhū JJanamejayoḥ tha
nrpati rjjāto Yayāti stataḥ Śrīmā —

Line 6—n Bhīma rathoḥ bhavattadanu cha kṣmā chakra
rakṣāmaṇiḥ (i) Aṣṭāsveva digantareṣu vijaya stambhāva—

(a) (a)
Line 7—ḷi chhadmanā dṛ chehha lyāni diśābhujāmapi
samā ropyanta jaiḥ visphuṭam (||) Tasmā d Dharmma ratho
mano—

Line 8—ratha phalaṇ śītāṁśu v aṁśa śrīyo nistrimśaika
sakhā śikhāmaṇi rabhūnniḥ śeṣa bhūmī bhūjām(i) Ya—

Line 9—smindigvijayāvatāraṇi pūrā vidveṣi bhū mī
bhujah prātiṣṭhanta digantaram tadanu cha

¹. i is a spelling mistake for ī.

². There is a rep sign over ' J ' which is meaningless.

(a) The reading of this letter is doubtful.

³. 4. 7. i signs should be ī signs.

⁴. Ū sign should be u sign.

⁵ 10. u " " " ū "

Line 10—sphīṭā śchamū reṇavaḥ (||) Setūpānta vanāntare
Himavataḥ paryyanta

bhū sīmani, prāgambhodbhita—

Line 11—tī vaneṣakāṭake pūrvveterakṣmā bhṛtaḥ, (),
yasyottāmyadarāti rājayuvatī nīsvāsa jhañjā—

Line 12—*niḥa vyāsaṅga svanadantarāḥa mukharai rggitarai*
yaśaḥ kīchakaiḥ (||). Bhrātātasya vabbūva bhūṭaḥa pate

Line 13—r Bhūteśa tulya prabhaḥ prakhyatam kṣiti-
bhūṣaṇaṁ Naghuṣa ityurvī patīnaṁ patiḥ (.) Yaddordanda
bhu

Line 14—jaṅgamaṇa viṣasannistrim sa¹¹ jihvibhūta pītāste
paripanti¹² pārthiva oṣmū kanthāntare anūrūta

Line 15—h (||). Atrāste karivṛnda sunmada miha prouḍho
sti panchānanah (i) Santye tāsū jagaddruho giridari ku

Line 16—mbhīṣu kumbhīnāśāḥ (1) Snehādityabhidhiya
vṛddha Śavarivarggeṇa vaddhāśṛṇā yadvairi pramadā jano-
yana

Line 17—bhuvah sañchāra madhyāyitah(||). Tasyānujo
natasāstra sapatna mouḷi, ratnā tsumātsalita pāda saro

Line 18— * * chiḥ (1). Vidyānidhiḥ pratinidhi rm
Madhu śūdanasya jāto,* tha viśvavijayī nrpatir Yayātiḥ(1).

8, 12, 15, 6 should be 8.

9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848

12 nti should be nti.

VI.—Kharavela and the Madala Panji.

By Narayana Tripathi, B.A.

On reading Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's articles on the Hātīgumpha inscription, published in the B.O.R.S. journal between the years 1917 and 1928, a curiosity arose in my mind to find out whether there were any records, other than this "chiselled history," describing the achievements of the mighty Khāravela, the great hero of ancient Utkal. I naturally remembered the Mādala Pāñji, which is a chronicle maintained at the temple of Jagannath in Puri.

Mr. Jagabandhu Sinha, a pleader in Puri, has written a book in Oriya called "Prāchīna Utkala." He has compiled from the Mādala Pāñji a list of kings who are supposed to have held sway in Orissa from time to time since the beginning of the Kali Yuga and according to his compilation a king named Bhoja Rāja ruled the country from B.C. 194 to B.C. 57 or for 137 years. At page 83 of his "History of Orissa," Sterling gives the following account of Bhoja Rāja from the Mādala Pāñji. "Next in the series of kings, comes Rājā Bhoja, who is made to reign 127 years, that is, from about B.C. 180 to B.C. 53. He was, according to the Orissan chronicles, a brave, liberal, just and merciful prince. He conquered the whole of India and took tribute from all the Rājās of it. His court was adorned by the presence of 750 eminent poets, the chief of whom was Kālidāsa, author of 752 Aslokas (*sic*) called the Chanak or Chataka and Mahā Nātaka. Rājā Bhoja invented boats, the weavers' loom and wheeled carriages or at least in his time the use of them first became common. In this reign the Yavanas from Sindhu Des invaded the country in great force but Bhoja discomfited and destroyed them and afterwards captured many of their possessions and cities."

The total period of the reign of Bhoja Rājā, 127 years according to Sterling's compilation and 137 years according to Mr. Sinha's, need not be taken seriously. Mr. Sinha has

explained that in some parts of the Mādālā Pāñji, only prominent kings have found a place, the unimportant ones who followed them having either not been mentioned at all or their existence having been indicated by the device of "and others" after the name of their predecessor of eminence. I think this is a natural and reasonable explanation of the unusually long periods attributed to some kings not only in the Mādālā Pāñji but perhaps in histories of the Paurāṇic age.

I draw attention to the year of accession of Bhoja Rāja and Khāravela to the throne. Mr. Sinha computes it to have been 194 B.C. and Mr. Sterling puts it about 180 B.C. Basing his calculations on independent data Mr. Jayaswal has concluded that Khāravela was made crown prince at 192 B.C. and King at 183 B.C. (page 244 J.B.O.R.S. Volume XIII, parts III-IV, September-December 1927). It is clear therefore that Khāravela and Bhoja Rāja are one and the same and that Mr. Sinha's computation somehow includes the period of Khāravela's heir-apparentship and Mr. Sterling excludes that period. This inference is indirectly confirmed by the fact that the difference of the total period of reign attributed to this king by these two authorities (Mr Sinha and Mr. Sterling) $137-127=10$ years which is almost covered by the period for which Khāravela was heir-apparent according to the inscription, that is from the 16th to the 25th year of age.

But this is not all. According to the Mādālā Pāñji, Bhoja Rāja was brave, liberal, just and merciful and he conquered the whole of India and took tribute from all the Rājās of it. We know from the inscription that Khāravela was all this, that he led an invasion to the west up to the Kṛṣṇavēṇā river and an expedition against the Bhojakas and Rāṣṭrakas; that he invaded Magadha successfully and subsequently penetrated into Northern India and brought back home quantities of wealth. We know further that he was lavish in bestowing his wealth on his subjects, that he re-excavated an old canal and won the heart of his people in various other ways. As

Mr. Jayaswal puts it there was no trace of despotism in him and a born soldier and a finished general, yet he was anxious to satisfy the condition of Hindu Kingship (pages 448-449, J.B.O.R.S., Volume III, Part IV, December 1917).

Sterling says that Bhoja Rājā's court was adorned by the presence of 750 eminent poets, the chief of whom was Kalidāsa, author of 752 Aslokas called the Chanaka or Chataka and Mahānātaka. Mr. Sinha puts this somewhat differently and says that the Rājā caused the Mahānātaka to be written and held a meeting of poets including Kalidāsa. Evidently all poets, great and small, attended this gathering and a poet named Kalidāsa was the most eminent among them. The Mahānātaka still survives and is quoted frequently by learned Brāhmaṇas in Orissa, but the Chanaka or Chataka has been lost or at least is not heard of. This Kalidāsa must have been a different poet and not the famous poet and dramatist Kalidāsa, the Shakespeare of India, and this vast gathering of poets must have taken place in the ninth year of Khāravela's reign when he gave a lavish feast to Brāhmaṇas (page 463 of the J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III, part IV).

We have thus been able to equate Khāravela of the Hātigumphā inscription with Bhoja Rājā of the Mādala Pāñji except that (1) there is no mention in the inscription of boats, etc., having come into common use in Khāravela's time, (2) the names do not agree and (3) there is no evidence in the inscription of Yavanas from the Sindhu Des having invaded Orissa and of Khāravela's having discomfited and destroyed them and of having captured many of their possessions and cities afterwards. The first omission is comparatively unimportant or it may have reference to the wonderful "elephant ships" which Khāravela brought from the Pāṇḍyas (line 13 of the inscription). As to the name, Khāravela assumed the title of "Bhikṣu Rājā." It must have been a favourite title with him when the martial temperament gave place to spiritualism in his great soul and has most probably come down to us in the distorted form of Bhoja Rājā.

There could not be two kings over the same land at the same time, particularly when one of them was the mighty Khāravela. We may therefore accept the explanation that the name of the king with earlier associations was discarded and gave place to his title Bhikṣu Rāja, subsequently miswritten as Bhoja Rāja in the Mādala Pañji.

The arresting nature of the name is suggestive of an event which probably occurred in the life of Khāravela or Bhoja Rāja. There is a custom in Orissa as also elsewhere in India that if a child is born after a son or daughter has been lost or if the parents are lost in infancy, the infant is given some outlandish name. Now the inscription suggests that Khāravela (or Bhoja Rāja) was crowned when he completed 24 years of age and Mr. Jayaswal rightly concludes that the throne was vacant till the Yuvarāja completed that age (page 438, para. 26, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III, Part IV). Could it have been that he lost his parents in his infancy? In the "Prāchi Māhātmya" an Oriya book describing the glories of the river Prāchi, mention has been made of a pious person named Chitra Chaṇḍala, probably a king, for he took to wife a Brāhmaṇa lady and established a town on the banks of the Prāchi and was revered by all. He lost his child or children in course of time. Could this Chitra have been the founder of the Cheta Rājavamśa, and could Khāravela have been his grandson, the third of his line? I put forward this theory with great diffidence in view of the learned discussions which have already gone on the title Cheta Rājavamśa, but if it is accepted Aira could be explained as connected with "Ara" the name of a deified saint of the Jainas. It is not indispensable that all great kings must be necessarily descended from some well-known branch of Paurāṇic kings.

But to return to the question whether the Yavana invasion of Orissa at the time of Bhoja Rāja as mentioned in the Mādala Pañji can be proved from the Hātigumphā inscription. That invasion must have occurred, if at all, when Khāravela was still a Yuvarāja; for since he ascended the throne he was

rather the aggressor. Again the Orissan army must have been in the highest state of efficiency during Khāravela's childhood and heir-apparentship, otherwise he could not have raised a force, as soon as he ascended the throne, powerful enough to wage war west, north and south. If therefore there was a Yavana invasion, it is not improbable, that the invaders were discomfited.

It must be admitted that Mr. Jayaswal has done a distinct service to Orissa by publishing the chronology of Khāravela's reign and we must ever remain thankful to him. But for this I would never have thought of this identification. The Mādala Pāñji has somehow or other come to be regarded as an untrustworthy document. It is most unfortunate that a record which is being maintained regularly at least for six centuries should be discarded wholly because our present imperfect knowledge of the past historical events cannot reconcile it with what knowledge is derived from other sources.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

I.—In memoriam.—Eric Arthur Horne.

Eric Arthur Horne was born on the 29th of November 1883. He was educated at Mill Hill School and St. Andrews University, where he obtained first class honours in History (1903) and Economic Science (1905), winning the Rector's prize for an essay on "*The present tendency towards industrial and commercial consolidation, and its probable influence on the future of Great Britain and her colonies*". He was then elected a Carnegie scholar, in which capacity he conducted an investigation connected with casual labour at Glasgow. After some years of work in the labour department of the Board of Trade, and as manager of a labour exchange at Southampton, he was appointed to be Professor of Economics at Patna College and joined that post on February 11th, 1911.

In 1912 he worked for four months as an inspector of schools, but a severe attack of enteric fever made it necessary for him to take leave, after which he returned to Patna College, where he remained till September, 1929, except for one year when his services were placed at the disposal of the Government of India and he delivered a course of lectures in the United States in America. After his return in 1921 he published "*The Political System of British India*", largely composed from the material of his American lectures. In September 1929 he left Patna to become Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University at Aligarh, where he died on June the 7th, 1930.

He joined the Bihar and Orissa Research Society as a member in the year 1916. In March 1923, when the prospects of the Society were not of the brightest, he became its Honorary General Secretary and he held that post until he left for Aligarh.

Eric Horne was a man of many parts. His degrees and his reputation as a teacher at Patna are proof of the depth of his scholarship. His work for the Research Society and on the many University bodies and committees of which he was a member, and latterly as Principal of Patna College, marked him out as an untiring and capable administrator. His affection for Patna College was very deep, and owing to the influence of his friend Ross Masud he had conceived a similar affection for Aligarh. It was a happy moment in his life when the chance came to him of moulding the academic affairs of the Muslim University, and those who knew him best know best how much that university has lost. They know too what a loss his death has been to his wife, to whose share in his career throughout his service in India he referred with so much feeling at the farewell party given him by the University on the eve of his departure to Aligarh.

G. E. F.

II.—Obituary.

Rakhal Das Banerji.

It pays better to play the bagpipes in the rear than march in the vanguard : the prudent keep both work and pleasure within the limits of their strength. Rakhal Das Banerji thought and acted otherwise. He simply precipitated himself into the unexplored horizon of Indian History and Archæolog—from the provoking script of Mahenjo-Daro to a unique issue of the Mogul mint, from the message of the Stone to the meaning of a Manuscript. Now, like Dr. Wendell Holmes's "one-horse shay", equally strong in every part, he has gone down, without suspicion or foreboding, altogether. He was barely forty-eight on the day of his death, on the 23rd of May.

Banerji's intellectual equipment was remarkable. He sat at the feet of Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Śāstrī, and served his apprenticeship under Theodore Bloch. The former taught him that truth is gained by patient study, by calm reflection, silently as the due falls : "We do not reason about the gods", we read in the *Bacchæ*; "the traditions of our ancestors and those which we receive that are coeval with time itself no reasoning can overthrow." From the stern, laborious and precise German he learnt unflinching thoroughness and absolute devotion to details. Behind this training and tradition stood his heredity. In his Brahmin brain, in his comprehensive collation of paleographic, numismatic and literary data, in the very contour and melody of his Bengali style, the ancient scholiasts of upper Bengal joined hands with the tribe in whose veins dances the blood of the wandering Bāuls.

Banerji made his *début* with the "Scythian Period in Indian History" in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1908. It led to a revision of Vincent Smith's "Early History of India" (3rd. Ed.) The *dénoûment* came in 1920, when he discovered remains of a prehistoric civilization in the Indus Valley at Mahenjo-Daro in

Sind. It upset the whole conception of Indian antiquity and linked up India with the earliest civilizations of the world. The prestige of the Archæological Department was never raised higher by another Superintendent. The *finale* found a broken man as Nandy Professor of Indian History and Culture at Benares, hurrying to his end in hectic haste, with a reconstruction of "The History of Orissa."

For twenty years, Banerji continued his talk with the pen. Studies in Paleography ("History of the Bengali Script"), in Numismatics ("Prāchīna Mudrā"), in Architecture, etc., grew attractive by his literary engagingness. The *Epigraphia Indica*, the *Indian Antiquary*, the *J.B.O.R.S.*, the *J.R.A.S.*, the *A.S.R.* contain his contributions that will remain works of reference for years to come. In his discoveries, he was disquietingly ahead of his times.

Banerji developed historical romance in vernacular. His "Palas of Bengal", published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, "Bāṅglār Itihāsa" satisfied the scholars: but the lay public clamoured for its dues. To them Banerji showed history as a spectacle. He took up some fragment of early and medieval history, transfigured it, showed it—as "Śaśāṅka", "Dharma-pāla", "Karunā" and "Mayūkha."

Death has deprived his friends of a loyal colleague, and a trusted leader. Banerji proved that there is no legitimate leadership, save the leadership of ideas, no allegiance save that of conviction. The Research Society has lost a valued collaborator, who was sometime a member of the Editorial Board. Members would still remember his fascinating lecture on Mahenjo-Daro at Patna in 1928. To him the Patna Museum owes an elaborate Catalogue of its Punch-Marked coins.

His closing years passed in struggles. Those who look on their days with regret because they have not been what they might have been had they availed themselves of the opportunities they have had, have not adequately observed what has gone on around them. No one does avail himself of all his opportunities. Every one has to regret fatal or irreparable

omissions. The dice of life are loaded by unseen agents before we throw them, and we may be glad if we win anything, not discontented because we do not win all.

He was strict in his demand of scientific proof. When a dear friend of his, last March, told him to turn his mind towards the Hereafter, he said, 'I have had no proof.' At that time, he could talk with difficulty, but he still talked with his usual confidence in his own judgment.

Banerji lived and died without any order save the Order of Honest Industry.

A. B. Ś.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on the 6th April, 1930.

PRESENT :

Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, Vice-President.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Mr. H. R. Batheja.

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. J. S. Armour.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 1st March, 1930.

2. Elected the following new member :

Pandit Narayan Tripathi, Judicial Department, Secretariat.

3. The monthly accounts for March, 1930, were submitted by the Honorary Treasurer and passed.

4. Read a letter, dated the 7th March, 1930, from Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, intimating that their monthly record, *Asiatica*, had ceased publication.

Resolved : that the letter be recorded.

Resolved further : that the Society's publications be sent to the *Statesman* for review.

5. Read a letter, dated the 26th March, 1930, from the Raja Sahib of Tekkali.

Resolved : that the Raja Sahib be informed that his offer is receiving careful consideration.

6. Read and recorded letters, dated the 5th, 6th and 19th March, 1930, from Miss Jackson, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford, and C. E. A. W. Oldham, Esq., respectively acknowledging receipt of the PUNEIA REPORT.

7. Read a letter, dated the 30th March, 1930, from the Honorary Secretary of the Srimati Radhika Sinha Library, requesting that the Society's publications be supplied free to the Library.

Resolved : that the request cannot be entertained.

8. Considered the question of the editorship of Buchanan's Shahabad Report.

Resolved : that Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham be invited to accept the editorship.

Resolved further : that Miss Anstey's Bill amounting to £ 7-18s.-9d. for work done in completing the Shahabad manuscript be paid.

9. The Honorary Secretary reported that he had sanctioned excess daily allowance to the Mithila Pandit for a period of 18 days in February, 1930.

10. The Vice-President requested permission to use the Library copy of Montgemery Martin's *Eastern India* for his work on the Patna-Gaya report.

Resolved : that permission be granted.

11. Considered the appointment of additional members of the Reception Committee for the sixth All-India Oriental Conference.

Resolved that P. C. Manuk be invited to serve on the Committee.

J. S. ARMOUR,
Honorary General Secretary.

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*—
(Band 84.) Neue Folge. Band 9-Heft 1. 1930.
- Leibovitch, J.*—Die Petrie'schen Sinai-Schriftdenkmäler.
- Ahrens, Karl.*—Christliches im Qoran.
- Steinbrucker, Dr. Charlotte.*—Islamische Bucheinbände.
- Blacke, Curt.*—Neues über "Goethes Orientalischen Berater"
Heinrich Friedrich" von Diez.
- Hempel, Johannes.*—Rudolf Kittel.
- Acta Orientalia.*—Vol. VIII, Part II, 1929.
- Arthur Christensen.—La Légende du sage Buzurimihir.
- F. W. V. Bissing.—Über die Kapelle im Hof Ramesses II
im Tempel von Luxor. (Mit 2 Tafeln.)
- L. Woitsch.—Lexikographische Beiträge.
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- Poucha, P.—Indian Literature in Central Asia.
- Lesny, V.—Zarathustra's Leben und Zeit im Lichte der
Gäthäüberlieferung.
- Pertold, O.—The Ceremonial Dances of the Sinhalese.
- Götze, A.—Über die hethitische Königsfamilie.
- Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu
Göttingen.*—Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1929, Heft 3.
- E. Hermann.—Lautveränderungen in den Individualsprachen
einer Mundart.
- Rocznik Orientalistyczny.*—(Lwów 1929). Tom VI (1928).
- Künetlinger, D.—Die Herkunft des Wortes Iblis im Kurān.
- Mironov, N. D.—Kuchean studies. I. Indian loan-words in
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- Willman-Grabowska, H.—Les répétitions du Śatapatha-
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- Stasiak, St.—Fallacies and their Classification according to
the Early Hindu Logicians.
- Kurylowicz, J.—Le genre verbal en indo-iranien.

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— Vol. XI, Part II, 1930.

Nalinaksha Dutt.—The place of the Āryastyas and Prāṭītya-samutpāda in Hinayana and Mahayana.

D. R. Bhandarkar.—Slow Progress of Islam Power in Ancient India.

K. B. Pathak.—On the date of Samantabhadra.

K. B. Pathak.—Śāntarakṣita's Reference to Kumārila's Attacks on Samantabhadra and Akalanādeva.

P. S. Sukthankar.—Epic-studies : II, Further Text-Critical Notes.

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New Series. Volume XXV, 1929, no. 1. Issued April 1930.

Kunja Govinda Goswami.—The Satak Copper Plate Grant of King Rāma Siṃha II, of Jaintia of 1809 A.D.

R. R. Halder.—The Chaubāns.

M. M. H. P. Shastri.—The R̥gveda in the making.

The Journal of the K. R. Cama, Oriental Institute, no. 16, 1930.

J. C. Tavadia.—Recent Iranian Researches by European Scholars.

Shams-ul-Ulama, J. J. Modi.—A Zoroastrian View of Brotherhood.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. April, 1930.

M. S. Ramaswamy Aiyar.—The Apostle Thomas and India.

D. Venkatramiah.—Svetāśvataropaniṣad.

L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar.—Studies in Dravidic Linguistics.

Sarat Chandra Mitra.—Studies in Bird-Myths and in Plant-Myths.

Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1928.
Volume XXXI. No. 81.—Parts I, II, III and IV, (1930).

Edmund Reimers.—Feudalism in Ceylon.

Donald Ferguson.—The Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon.

The Journal of Oriental Research Madras. January-March, 1930.

Srimati O. K. Anantalakshmi Ammal.—Studies in the Upaniṣads.

P. T. S. Iyengar.—Śaka-Pallavas in Indian History.

L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar.—Dravidic Etymologies.

Journal Asiatique.—Tome CCXIV. No. 1—Janvier-Mars 1929

Susumu Yamaguchi et Henriette Meyer.—Examen de l'objet de la connaissance. (Alambanapariksa).

G. Groslier.—Le théâtre et la danse au Cambodge.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.—April 1930.

F. W. Thomas.—Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan.

IV.—The Khotan Region.

A. H. Sayce.—The Legend of Telibinus.

Jarl Charpentier.—Naichasakha.

Jwalu Prasad.—The Date of the Yoga-Sūtras.

Lt.-Col. D. L. B. Lorimer.—A Bakhtiari Prose Text.

The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.—Vol. XIV. No. 3. 1929.

S. N. Roy.—Select Proverbs and Popular Sayings of the Housewives of Orissa.

Sarat Chandra Mitra.—A Note on the Primitive Religion in the Ranchi District in Chota Nagpur.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanagari.	Roman.	Devanagari.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄	ब	b
लृ	l	भ	bh
ॡ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	l
च	ch	· (Anusvāra)	m̄
छ	chh	' (Anunāsika)	m̄
ज	j	: (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh	× (Jihvāmūlīya)	ḥ
ञ	ñ) (Upadhmanīya)	h
ट	t	§ (Avagraha)	ˆ
ठ	ṭh	Udātta	—
ड	ḍ	Svarita	ˆ
ढ	ḍh	Anudātta	ˆ
ण	ṇ		

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OF THE
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September-
December



1930.

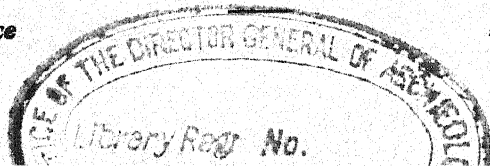
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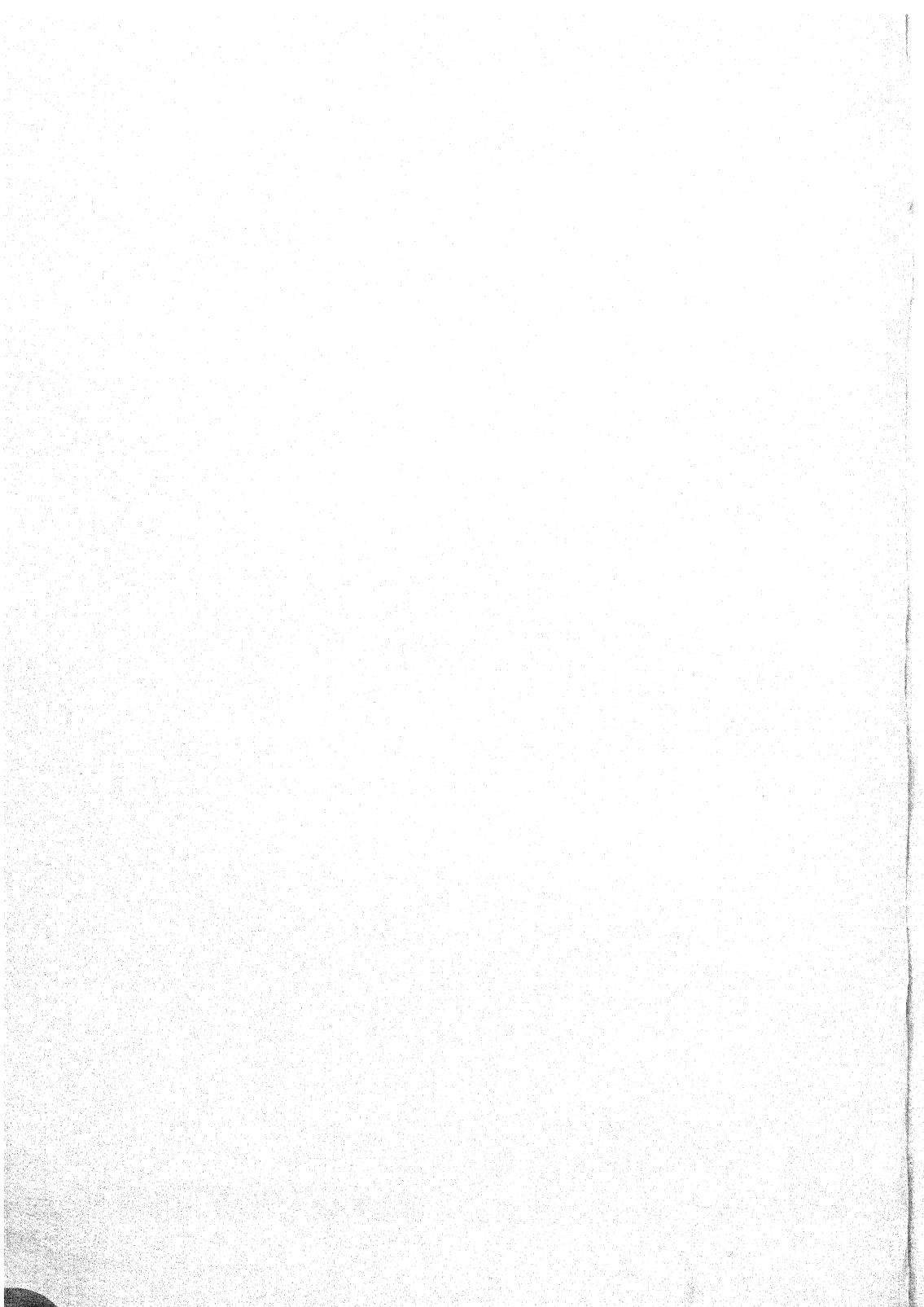
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[PARTS III & IV.

LEADING ARTICLES

I.—Problems of Saka-Satavahana History.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

I ON SAKA HISTORY.

Dr. Konow's conclusions.

§ 1. Dr. Sten Konow, by his *Historical Introduction to Vol. II, Part I, of the CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM on Kharoshthi Inscriptions* (with the exception of those of Aśoka), published by the Government of India, which reached us in July last, has re-stated the important problems connected with the history of the Kushānas and the rulers before them who bear non-Indian and non-Greek names, and has tried to solve them. I propose to notice and examine his important conclusions, and put forward some new points for consideration.

§ 2. Dr. Konow has clarified certain matters. The controversy which started with Sir John Marshall's interpretation of the silver scroll document of Taxila of the year 136 having the word *ayasa*, in J.R.A.S., 1914, p. 973ff., is in my opinion, set at rest by Dr. Konow's explanation. Sir

John took *ayasa* in *Sa. 103 ayasa ashādasa masasa* etc. to mean *Aya's* (= *Azes'*), and connecting it with *Sa* (year), attributed an era to him, and identified it as the era beginning with 58 B. C. Protest was raised at once (J.R.A.S. 1914, p. 988-89; 992) by Dr. Thomas, Dr. Fleet, and others, who pointed out that such an interpretation would be against the system of dating known upto that time. Further evidence has now been afforded by the Central Asian documents which vindicate Fleet's criticism. In all these documents as well as the Indian inscriptions of the class the ruler's name is never mentioned without a title, and the ruler's name is mentioned to denote that he was the reigning authority. The reigning authority mentioned in the scroll is "the Emperor *Khushana*". The natural way was to take *ayasa* as qualifying *ashādasa masasa* (the month of Āshādha). This did instinctively occur to Fleet, but he could not get the meaning (J.R.A.S. 1914, p. 998). Now Dr. Konow has given an explanation which in my opinion, is final: that it stands for *ādyasya* = 'the first'. Professor Bhandarkar rightly pointed out that evidently in the year there were two Āshādhas. Dr. Thomas had also taken the word as an adjective. This disposes of the theory of the Azes era which had caused confusion in the already confused chronology of the early Śaka history.

§3. Dr. Konow shows that the date on the Peshawar casket of Kanishka is year 1. This gives us a continuous record of the era of Kanishka from year 1 onwards.

§4. The difficult Khalastse (Ladhakh) inscription has been successfully read by Dr. Konow: year 184 (or 187) (during the reign) of *Maharaja Uvima Kavthisa* i.e. of Wima Kadphises.

§5. The inscription round the neck of the duck-shaped, beautiful silver vase is dated in the year 191 (earlier Śaka era) under the reign of the Kshatrapa Jihonika. He was a nephew of the Maharaja (p. 82).

§6. Dr. Konow has identified *Kuyula Kaphasa*, *Kushana Kuyula Kaphasa*, *Kayula Kara Kaphsasa*, *Kuyula Kara Kapasa*

of the coins as the one and the same person, and counts him and W'ima as the only two predecessors of Kanishka (p. lxxv). This result I accept as I myself arrived at it on independent considerations and evidence (J.B.O.R.S., 1920, p. 19). The new find of coins (at Sirkap) of Kadphises (the first) with the bust of Hermaeus with whom he was at one time associated, bearing.....*jula kara*, establishes that *Kara* was a mere title and not a name (Konow, p. ixv, A.S.I.A.R., 1912-13, p. 52).

§7. Dr. Konow has arranged all the dated Kharoshthi inscriptions under two Eras—the B.C. Śaka Era ("Inscriptions connected with the old Śaka Era", pp. 131-134) and the Kanishka Era ("Inscriptions connected with Kanishka Era", pp. 135-173). This is an arrangement I have already advocated for (1920 J.B.O.R.S. p. 19, p. 21). The arrangement by itself solves half the difficulties of the Śaka chronology.

Kamboja.

§8. Dr. Konow's recognition of *Kamuia*, occurring in the Lion Capital inscription of Mathurā, as=*Kāmbojika* is convincing. The Persian form *Kamboh* lends support to the theory that the *j* there had a soft, probably a voiced, sound. That pronunciation is supported by Ptolemy's *Cambi-stholi* who were in or near Arachosia (Wilson's, *V.P.*, II p. 182—3, *ns.*). This identification has a far reaching effect. I believe with Professor Thomas that the Śakas had been in Sakastana long before 160 B.C., and they certainly existed there in the Persian period. Probably the word *Kāmboja* in early Sanskrit literature and in Aśoka's inscriptions, meant or included the Śakas of Seistan. In that case, on the evidence of language, the Śakas were certainly Aryan. This explains their early claim to be regarded as Hindus, as Kshatriyas (Rapson, C.H.I., p. 577)—a claim nearly endorsed by the *Mānava-dharma-Śāstra* (X. 43-44).

* * * * *

Now I take up the points where it is not possible to agree with Dr. Konow,

Bhumaka.

§9. Dr. Konow following Dr. Lévi identifies Bhūmaka with Zamotika, and bases a theory of national ('Saka') revival in Western India on it. He says "we may therefore look on Chashtana's use of the indigenous Saka form of his father's name as a sign of increased Saka self-assertion" (p. lxx-lxxi), "the Western Satrap Chashtana evinces an increase in his national pride in re-introducing the Saka name Ysamotika for his father" (p. xiv). In his opinion *Bhūmaka* is a clumsy translation of *Zamotika*. This identification is demonstrably wrong. Bhūmaka ruled; he issued his coins. But Zamotika never ruled (Rapson, *Coin of Andhra Dynasty* etc., p. cxi, p. 71). Bhūmaka was a Kshaharāta (Rapson, CAD, p. 63) while Chashtana and Zamotika belonged to a different family (Rapson, CAD, p. cxii).¹ Chashtana was the founder of the Western Satrap dynasty which came down to the time of the Guptas and who used the 'historical Saka era' (the era of 78 A. D.) according to everybody (Konow, p. LXX). That *Kshaharāta* was a family name, and not a title, is proved by its being called *Khakharāta-vasa* (= *Kshaharāta-vaṃśa*) in the contemporary Sātavāhana inscription (Ep. I., VIII. 60). Instead of a revival of Śaka nationalism we find Rudradāman who succeeded Chashtana citing Hindu Śāstras and following them, according to his inscription which is in Sanskrit. His name and the name of his father show that Chashtana gave to his son and grandson Hinduised names. The evidence is thus the otherway. There is no basis for the identification and the theory of Konow.

**The two Saka Eras and the Founder of the Era of
78 A. D.**

§10. The era in which the Taxila copper-plate inscription of Patika is dated in the year 78, was for the first time designated as a (B. C.) Śaka era by Dr. F. W. Thomas (J. R. A. S., 1913, 637). Dr. Sten Konow rightly calls it the old Saka Era (p. 11) though I would have preferred 'the earlier Śaka era' as already suggested by me (J. B. O. R. S.,

¹ See also ASWI., V. 78 (L^uders, no. 994).

1920, p. 20), for I regard the era of 78 A.D. also as a Śaka era (See my reasons below).

§11. Dr. Konow however has put forward three important theses which cannot be acceptable. He says that 'the historical Saka era' (i.e. the era beginning in 78 A. D.) was not established by Kanishka but by W'ima, his predecessor (p. LXXXVIII), that Kanishka established a separate era which is found in his records and the records of the time of his descendants (years 1 to 98), and that he did it after 125 A.D. (pp. LXXVII ff.) and about 128-129 A. D. (p. LXVII). He holds that the Western Satraps used 'the historical Saka era' (i.e. 78 A. D. era) (p. LXXXVIII), while Kanishka's era was at Mathurā and other places. All this is the consequence of one view : his assumption of a mistaken date for the beginning of the old Śaka era, with a mistaken interpretation of a Chinese passage (see below).

§12. It is admitted on all hands that the early Śaka era started some time in B. C., long before the time of the Kushānas. Its initial date had been differently suggested : by Mr. R. D. Banerji, *C.* 100 B. C. (1908, I. A., p.67), by Sir John Marshall, *C.* 95 B. C. (JRAS., 1914, 986), by me, between 145 B. C. and 100 B. C. (*C.* 120 B.C.) (J. B. O. R. S., 1920, p. 21), by Prof. Rapson, *C.* 150 B. C. (1922, C. H. I., p. 570). Dr. Konow has now suggested a date between 88 B.C. and 60 B. C.—*C.* 84 B. C. (pp. xxxi, xc-xci). The exact date we may leave out of consideration for the present.

§13. In this early era the reigns of two early 'Kushāna Kings': King Kushāna (Kadphises I) and W'ima Kadphises are dated :

(1) Year 122 : 'in the reign of Maharaja Gushana' (Panjtār insc., Kh. I., p. 70).

(2) Year 136 : 'for the health of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Khushana' (p. 77) (Taxila silver scroll).

(3) Year 184 (or 187) : 'of (the reign of) Uvima Kavthisa' (p. 81, Khalatse).

To these may be added the silver vase inscription of Taxila of the year 191 of Kshatrapa Jihonika, 'nephew of the Maharaja' (p. 82). I agree with Konow that the Mahārāja referred to there was very likely W'ima. The reading of the Khalatse record is one of the most important contributions of Dr. Konow, for it discloses the name of W'ima. It was written to mark his reign. It is the only dated inscription of his reign. The second inscription, as read and identified by me, on the Maṭ statue where his name (with titles) is given as *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kushānaputra Sh[ā]hi Vema*, is of a period after his death (J. B. O. R. S., 1920, p. 11); it seems to have been engraved in the year 6 (of Kanishka).

§14. Now we have two records—dated 187 and 191—of the time of W'ima—one of which definitely marks his reign in that year (187). This clearly establishes that W'ima had not started his own era, and by itself is sufficient to destroy the theory of Dr. Konow that the era beginning in 78 A. D. which is current today as the Śaka era was introduced by W'ima, and not by Kanishka (p. lxxxviii). The Śaka Era of 78 A. D. is connected, in the Indian tradition, with Ujjain. Chashtana who was the founder of the new Satrapal dynasty of Western India with its capital at Ujjain (where Chashtana was established in the time of Ptolemy) was reigning up to some time before 52 Śaka year, which undoubtedly and admittedly is equal to 130 A. D. (J. B. O. R. S., 1920, pp. 19-20; Konow, p. lxx). It is not probable that he could have been a contemporary of W'ima. (J. B. O. R. S., 1920, 20, see also below). It seems highly improbable that Kanishka abolished an era founded by his predecessor and then started his own. That he started his own is proved by its continuous use from the beginning upto the reign of Vāsudeva (year 98). It is difficult to accept that while Kanishka was using his own era, the Satraps in Western India whom Konow, like every one else, admits to be Kushāna Satraps (Konow, p. lxx), were using a different era, the era of his predecessor removed only by a few years in time. As early as the 28th year in Kanishka's era, we find, under Vāseshka,

dating in Kanishka's era at Sānehf, i.e., in an area under Ujjain Satrapy*. I am not prepared to agree that W'ima "did not make his power felt to any considerable extent in Mathurā" (Konow, p. xciii). His statue at Mathurā and the extent of his coins negative the theory. Then, the Valhalla *Devakula* statue is not dated in W'ima's supposed era, but seems to have been dated in the year 6 of Kanishka. It seems to me that there is no room for two Kushāna eras.

The Date of the Earlier Saka Conquest.

§ 15. That they were the Śakas of Seistan who established their rule in India in the first century B. C. is an agreed point. Dr. Konow himself adduces evidence for this (pp. xxvi-xxvii). Dr. Konow cites the Jaina tradition as preserved in the *Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka* and relies on it. There is no doubt that the passage quoted records a genuine historical tradition. I should like to discuss it as a digression.

§ 16. The Teacher *Kālaka* went to the '*Sagakūla*' and brought them to *Hindugadesa*—to Ujjain—crossing the Indus ('Sindhu') and halting in *Suratṭha* (Kathiawar). The '*Sagakūla*' had already an overlord, the '*Sāhanu-Sāhi*' and the '*Sagakūla*' was divided into fiefs of *Sāhis*, 96 of whom migrated to India with their army. One of the *Sāhis* became king and overlord at Ujjayinī. I may cite a few more data from materials available bearing on the tradition. It seems that other manuscripts read *Saga-kula* not ° *kūla* [aha sūri *Saga-kule* vachchai]†. *Saga-kula* would denote 'the tribe of the Śakas', or the country where a 'family rule' (aristocracies) of the Śakas prevailed. In the Sanskrit version of the tradition it is stated that *Kālaka* went to *Parśvakula* on the Indus where all the kings or rulers were called *Sākhi* (or *Sākhi*).† The latter is no doubt a Sanskritization of *Sāhi*. *Parśva-kula* reminds us of the *Parśvas*. It may denote that the locality was connected with eastern Persia or that the Śakas were regarded as

* Vogel, JRAS, 1912, p. 118.

† Jaina periodical *Anekānta*, Vol. I, nos. 8-10, pp. 5-12.

Iranians.† According to the Sanskrit version the 95 chiefs or Sāhis settled down in Mālava and one became king at Ujjayinī.

§ 17. Their occupation of Saurāshtra almost immediately after coming on this side of the Indus, the Sagakula being accessible by crossing that river in going from Gujarat, and their free passage from their home into Kathiawar point to Seistan as the locality from where they came.

§ 18. This event is placed before the Vikrama era, but no time is specified as to how long after the occupation of Ujjain and Malwa the first Śaka dynasty came to an end. The Kathānaka expressly keeps it unspecified, as it says “*kālantareṇa keṇāi*” (ZDMG, 1880, p. 267; Konow, p. xxvii). On the definite date for the in-coming of the Śakas we have two Jaina chronological data—the Paṭṭāvali Gāthās or chronological Prakrit verses, and the datum preserved in Sanskrit by Jinasena in his Harivaṃśa Purāṇa which he wrote in 705 Śaka year (783-84 A.D.). The latter is quoted and discussed by me in the *Indian Antiquary* for July, 1917. Jinasena is older than the Paṭṭāvalis. Dr. Konow has taken note of the Paṭṭāvali Gāthās but not of Jinasena’s chronology. I give side by side the two versions of the Jaina chronological tradition for the post-Mahāvīra-Nirvāṇa and pre-Vikrama Era period.

Pattavali.*		Jinasena.	
	Years.	Years.	
Pālaka	... 60	60	Pālaka.
Nandas	... 155	155	Vijaya kings.
Mauryas	... 108	40	[Mayūras].
Pushyamitra	... 30	30	Pushyamitra.
Balamitra-Bhānumitra	60	60	Vasumitra and Anigmitra.
Nahavāṇa	... 40	100	Rāsabha kings [Gaddabhillas].
Gaddabhillā[or ° bhilā]	13	42	Naravāhas.
Śaka	... 4	...	
(Pre-coronation years of Vikrama)	... 18	...	
Total	... 488	487	

† See another quotation in Prakrit in Appendix B below.

* I. A. Vol. II, p. 363 ;

I. A. Vol. XX, p. 347.

The difference in the Maurya years of (108—40) 68 (with 4+18) is adjusted in the 100 years of the Rāsabha kings. Jinasena does not mention Vikramāditya after his 'Naravāha' but another dynasty, the Bhattavāṇa (=probably *Bhṛīṭya-Ava*) † for 240 years and then the Guptas for 221 years. Balamitra and Bhānumitra stand for Vasumitra and Agnimitra, the Śuṅga kings. Probably Balamitra and Bhānumitra were governors of the Śuṅgas in Western India. The important point which emerges is that for the Śaka of the Paṭṭāvali we have in Jinasena *Narahāva* who is the same as *Nahavāṇa* ‡ of the Paṭṭāvali. Dr. Konow has taken the other reading of the MSS: *Nahavāhaṇa*, but at present we may leave the question of the correct form. It will suffice to notice that the king equivalent to Śaka ruled for 42 years according to Jina-sena and not for 4, and that he flourished 42 years before the Vikrama era. An upper limit is afforded by the 90 years of the Śuṅga rule in Ujjayinī. That is, 90 years (30, Pushyamitra, + 60 Vasu' and Agnimitra) after Pushyamitra's succession, or (188 B.C.*-90) C. 98 B.C. the Śakas came. Judged by the upper limit on the basis of the known Śuṅga dates, the result tallies with the date afforded on the basis of the Vikrama era :

42 years of Naravāha² or Nahavāṇa before the Vikrama era
= 100 B.C.

90 years after Pushyamitra=98 B.C.

The difference of 2 years is the difference between the two versions of the reign of Naravāha-Nahavāṇa. We thus get for the Śaka rule at Ujjain C. 98 or 100 B.C.

§ 19. If we take account of the Paṭṭāvali's '4 years of Śaka' (in addition to the 40 years of Nahavāṇa) in our chronology based on Jinasena, where *Nahavāṇa-Naravāha* is equated with the *Nahavāṇa-Śaka* period, we will have to date the fall of Ujjayinī in 104 or 102 B.C. But I regard Jinasena's

† For Ava as another name for the Andhras see below, § 136(f).

‡ See below, § 40.

* See J. B. O. R. S., I 116.

datum as more accurate and take the early Śaka period in Avanti to be C. 100 B.C. to 58 B.C.

§ 20. Although the Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka does not give the exact time of the Śaka sovereignty, yet it says that when the Śakas came Balamitra and Bhānumitra were still alive, though not ruling at Ujjain. This by implication places the Śaka invasion a few years later than the end of Balamitra-Bhānumitra period in the line of Ujjain rulers. That period is 413 years after the Mahāvīra, i.e., 114 B.C. Now deducting 13 years for Gardabhila we will get 101 B.C. for the Śaka conquest of Ujjain. The Kathānaka's this date for the Śakas—some time after 114 B.C. in the life-time of Balamitra and Bhānumitra and taking Gardabhila's years, C. 101 B.C., confirms Jina-sena's date (100 B.C.) for the same event. Balamitra of the Paṭṭāvali is very likely the same as Balabhūti of the Mathurā coins *. The two Provincial seats of the Śūngas—Mathurā and Ujjayinī—seem to have been connected, and one might have been subordinate to the other, as in the time of Pradyota. †

The early Śakas evidently travelled from Malwa to Mathurā.

§ 21. Neglecting the short rule of Gardabhila for 13 years at Ujjayinī, which probably indicates a weakened condition of the Śūngas, we may take for the present purpose the Śakas as the immediate successor of the Śūngas, from Malwa to Mathurā.

The Yuga Purāṇa in the Garga-Saṁhitā mentions the Śaka invasion in the Śūnga times (J.B.O.R.S., 1928, 397, 406-407, 418) which I have already suggested as occurring about 100 B.C. The coins of Rañjubula at Mathurā "are related as regards both types and fabric to those of Pañchāla (Śūngas) and those of the Hindu princes of Mathurā" (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 9, 13).

Within a few years of the fall of Mathurā and Ujjain the Śūnga dynasty was dethroned at Pāṭaliputra.

§ 22. Further corroboration is found in the Parthian history. B.C. 123 was the year of one of the greatest disasters to

* For Bhānumitra and his coins see below § 59.

† J. B. O. R. S., I. p. 78.

the Parthian suzerainty. Artabanus had his war against the Tocharis; the Śakas turned against him and devastating Parthia returned to their own country, and the Parthian emperor was himself killed by the Tocharis on the battlefield. B.C. 128 therefore is the year of victory both to the Śakas of the east and the Tocharis. But soon after in the next reign (128-88 B.C.), the reign of Mithradates II, rightly called the Great, recuperation took place and the Parthian power reached its zenith. The Scythian feudatories in eastern Iran were brought under the imperial dominion and the suzerainty of Parthia over the ruling powers of Seistan and Kandahar confirmed.'

§ 23. The process of pacification was terrible. This we gather from the *Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka*. The chiefs of the Śaka tribe (*Saga-kula*), where *Kālaka* was a guest, were under 'the King of Kings'. The King of Kings is to be identified with Mithradates II who was the first Parthian emperor to assume this title (Rapson, C H I, pp. 567, 569). The King of Kings offered a dagger to the Śaka chiefs through his ambassador and asked them to execute themselves if they wanted to save their families and successors or accept a battle in which if they lost they would be wiped out root and branch. (Z D M G, 1880, p. 263). The chiefs must have been held guilty of rebellion and treason against Artabanus. The Śaka chiefs, 96 in number, accepted the suggestion of *Kālaka* to migrate with their fighting forces (*sa-bala-vāhana*) into the *Hinduga-deśa* (India). They reached the Indus, crossed it and came into *Saurāshṭra*. Later (after a year according to the *Kathānaka*, which on the point may or may not be correct), with the help of the rulers of the *Lāṭadeśa* or Gujarat (*Lādāya-vīsaya-rāyāno*, p. 264) they attacked *Ujjayinī* and *Mālava-deśa*.

§ 24. Had Prof. Rapson and Prof. Konow noticed this definite datum of the *Kathānaka* and its bearing, they would not have said that the Śaka invasion of India must be dated after the reign of Mithradates II, i. e. 88 B.C. (Rapson, CH I, p. 568; Konow, p. XXI: "The invasion of India must be

ascribed not to the Parthian emperors but to their former feudatories in eastern Iran ; not to the reign of Mithradates I but to a period after the reign of Mithradates II when the power of Parthia had declined and kingdoms once subordinate had become independent "). "The invasion " was due to pressure at home; it was really a migration ; it was not due to the weakening of the suzerain power , but to its crushing weight which could not be borne. We must date the migration, therefore, about 123 B.C., and before 88 B.C. Kālaka had lived amongst the Śakas for a few years. The migration must have taken place within the first few years of the King of King's succession : in 123 B.C., or shortly after. The reason why we do not find the Indo-Greek power about that time in lower Sindh lends support to a presumption that soon after 123 B.C. the Śakas were there. Without such a supposition the assumption of Hindu names and a claim to be classed as Kshatriyas which the name Aśpva-varman and others denote, and the acceptance of Hindu faiths with their very advent on the soil of inner India, are not explainable.

Date of the Earlier Saka Era.

§25. The date which Konow takes for the beginning of the earlier Śaka era is palpably wrong. He bases his argument on the Taxila copper plate dated in the year 78 and under the reign of Mahārāja Moga. At p. xxix of his Historical Introduction he agrees with the view that Moga did not institute the era but was ruling in that year ("There cannot be any doubt that Dr. Fleet was right in assuming that King Moga was actually ruling at the time of the copper plate"). Assuming that Moga is the same as Maues and Moa of the coins, he takes the date of Maues to be after 88 B. C. This is based upon Prof. Rapson's argument that the title 'the King of Kings' which is found on the coins of Maues was used for the first time by Mithradates II (123-88 B. C.) and was not used in Parthia during the interval from 88 to 57 B.C. and in this interval it would have been assumed by the Śaka King Mauses, as by Tigranes, King of Armenia (77-73), the great rival of Parthia. Konow accepts this (p. xxxi).

If Mauses-Moga flourished between 88 B.C. and 57 B.C. (or 88 B.C. and 60 B.C. as Konow puts it), the era in which the Taxila plate is dated must have started 78 years before that. Prof. Rapson for that reason says that the era would have started about 150 B.C., taking Moga to have lived c. 72 B.C. (C. H. I., p. 570). But Konow confounds the date of the establishment of the Śaka State in India with the date of the older Śaka era (pp. xxxi-xxxii) and says that as the date of the former would not be before 88 B.C., the date of Moga could not be earlier than 10 B.C. This reasoning is unsound; the argument is in a circle. Why, should not the era be independent of the beginning of the "Śaka empire"?

§26. Numismatists will never agree with Konow that Maues, with whom he identifies Moga, lived in 10 B.C. He relies on Sir John Marshall's opinion in 1914, J. R. A. S., 986 but that opinion is based on a wrong interpretation of *ayasa* as 'of Azes' and fixing upon him as the inventor of the Vikrama Era. Konow himself, more than any one else, destroys both the bases of Marshall's conclusion. How can he then himself rely on that badly broken reed of Sir J. Marshall? It is important to note that Prof. Rapson, even in his Cambridge History (1922) does not come down below 72 B.C. for Mauses-Moga, although he declares his former date (120 B.C.) for Maues as untenable.

§27. It is very probable that Maues lived after 88 B.C. or 77-73 B.C., that is, the period when the ruler of a small power like Armenia could assume the title 'the King and Kings', as Prof. Rapson seems to think by assigning him to 72 B.C. But that is no reason that the era in which the 78th year corresponds with some year of his reign must necessarily begin after 88 B.C. The two pillars on which Konow's assumption of the proposed date (84 B.C.) for the beginning of the old Śaka era rests, are erected on sands. That the Indian tradition gives 60 B.C. and that the Parthian history gives a post-88 B.C. time for the foundation of the Śaka kingdom, are views which lack foundation.

§28. The probable initial date of the old Śaka era seems to be about 123 B.C. The successful revolt against Artabanus and his fall in that year was the highest point in the effort for national self-assertion of the Seistan Śakas. The yoke of the greatest empire of the day was shaken off by them. The country of the suzerain lay under their feet. They could count their new political era from that date (123 B.C.). Even if we take their migration from Seistan and the first settlement in India (before they reached Ujjain), as marking the beginning of their era, it will not be far off from 123 B.C. There is no other point of time in Seistan itself for the Śakas to start an era of their own before 123 B. C. and after 123 B.C. and upto 88 B.C. (Mithradates II). If we take their entry in India and the first year of conquest as the foundation date of their era, it will be near 123 B.C. and not very far from it, as the capture of Ujjainî, the highest point of luck in their immigration, was attained in 100 B. C. Before reaching Ujjain, the Śakas acquired important territories on their march, namely in lower Sindh and Kāthiawar, wherein they did already settle down. The beginning of the era, if it originated in India, would thus be between 123 and 100 B. C. We have good reasons, as we have seen, for accepting 123 B.C. for this purpose. Taking 123 B. C. as the initial date, the known dates of Kharoshthi inscriptions, as collected in Dr. Konow's *Corpus*, work out thus :—

- (1) Yr. 58 ; Maira (Salt Range, Jhelum district) of the reign of Moga (p. xxxii)—65 B.C.
- (2) Yr. [60], Shahdaur (Hazara), of Rājā Damijada Śaka† (p. 13)—63 B. C.
- (3) Yr. 68, Mansehra, and Fatehganj (Attock), (the former probably under Liaka)—55 B. C.
- (4) Yr. 78, Taxila copper plate, of the reign of King Moga, under Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Liaka, donation of Patika, his son—46 B.C.

† I do not read *Sakasa* with a supposed "*samvatsara*," as Dr. Konow does, but the simple *Damijadasa Sakasa*, to mean 'of Damijada the Saka.'

- (5) Yr. 81, Muchai (Yusufzai)—42 B. C.
- (6) Yr. [100], Kalasang (Yusufzai)—[23 B. C.]
- (7) Yr. 102, Mount Bhanj (Utmanzai)—21 B. C.,
and at Shahdaur, of the reign of [Aaya-Azes.]
- (8) Yr. 103, Takht-i-Bahi (Yusufzai) in King Guduvhara's reign, year 26, gift of Balasami in honour of Mira Boyana Erjhuna Kapa (i. e. a Śaka)—20 B. C.
- (9) Yr. 111, Paja (Yusufzai)—12 B. C.
- (10) Yr. 113, Kaldarra (Swat)—10 B. C.
- (11) Yr. [11]7, Marguz (Peshawar district)—4 B. C.
- (12) Yr. 122, Panjitar (Mahaban) 'in the reign of Maharaja Gushana'.—1 A. D.
- (13) Yr. 136, Taxila scroll: Donation by a Bactrian for the health of Emperor Kushāṇa—13 A. D.
- (14) Yr. 168, Peshawar Museum—45 A. D.
- (15) Yr. 184 (or 187), Khalatse (Ladakh) 'of Maharaja Uvima Kavthisa'.—61 (or 64) A. D.
- (16) Yr. 191, Taxila vase of Jihonika, 'of the nephew of the Maharaja'.—68 A. D.
- (17) Yr. 200, Dewai (Mahaban)—77 A. D.

After this we get the records dated in the Era of Kanishka till the end of the reign of Vasudeva, i. e., for 98 years. Then again there is a revival. After the fall of Kanishka's era in the North—we get, in Kharoshthi, year; 318 at Lorayan Tangai (Lower Swat), and two more records—one at Hastnagar (year 384) and the other near Charsadda (Skarah Dheri), yr. 399.*

§29. From a mere glance at the statement above showing the dates, it becomes unmistakable that the old era was used upto the reign of W'ima Kadphises (No. 15) and that immediately after him we find Kanishka's era started and running for about 100 years. There is no room for or trace of another era of W'ima. Nor could the initial year of Kanishka's era be other

* For the yr. 299 in the same 'era in a Brāhmī insc. after 98 of Kanishka, at Mathurā itself, see § 140 below. This is the first year of the revival of the old Saka era.

than 78 A. D. Upto the year 200, i. e. about 15 years even later than the record of W'ima dated in 184 or 187, we do not find a new era of W'ima started.

§30. On the basis of an era beginning in 123 B. C. which was the year of the Śaka victory and independence both of the Seistan and Tochari Śakas, and an era which both the groups did use in India, we get the year 65 B. C.—45 B. C. for Moga's records, which will be in accord with the numismatic view for that king. [Evidently Moga had a long reign, and there is no reason why he should not be supposed to have succeeded about 85 B. C. He could be even as early as the taking of Ujjayinī. But it is more likely that he had a predecessor.] On that basis, the years of Liaka would be about 55-45 B.C.

§31. It is noteworthy that all the dates of these inscriptions, with one exception (year 58 at Maira=65 B. C.) which is on the way from Central India to the North, fall after 58 B.C. They indicate a march Northwards, begun before 58 B. C. but pressed on and completed after 58 B. C. Numismatic evidence shows a break at Mathurā and a revival of a Hindu dynasty there. Between the Kshatrapas and Kushānas we have the coins of Gomitra and Vishnumitra (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 13, Bhagwan Lal Indraji, J. R. A. S., 1894, 553) in that interval, that is, between the B. C. Śakas and the Kushānas. We find in that period Gomitra's minister's inscription at Mathurā (1912 J.R.A.S., p. 122), and an inscription wherein the Hindu donor is described as the Black Serpent to the Śakas (E.I.I., *Śaka-kālavāla*). The early Śakas are driven away from Mathurā and Central India about 58 B. C.

Years of Gondophares.

§31(a). The puzzle of the double dating at Takht-i-Bahi is explainable. As the donor was a Śaka he used his own national era. But this was not the official era of Gondophares, hence the donor used also the era or the years used officially under the king in whose territory the pious gift was made and marked,

Chinese Date for Kushana Kadphises and Wima.

§32. The Chinese date for the Kadphises agrees with the above chronology. Chang K'ien who was sent to the Yüe-chi in 138 B.C., returned to China from the Yüe-chi in 126 B.C. Before this date they had conquered the Tā-hia. The author of the Hou-Han-Shu who died in 445 A.D., drawing on Chang K'ien and others including Pan Ku, for the K'ien-wu period (25-55 A.D.), says :

' They transferred themselves to the Ta-hia and divided that kingdom between five *hi-hou* (names them). More than a hundred years after this, the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang (i.e., one of the five) attacked the four other *hi-hou* ; he styled himself king. He conquered up to Ki-pin. He died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen conquered Tien-chu (North-Western India or Sindhu).'

From this narration it is evident that the *Hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang arose more than a hundred years after their occupation of the Ta-hia country. The latter event took place after the period 174-160 B.C. (Shan-Yü) when they were driven out of the Sai-wang and before Chang K'ien (138-126 B.C.), i.e., within 25 years, say about 135 B.C. ' More than a hundred years' will place the rise of the Kuei-shuang power about 20 B.C.

Professor Konow fully sees this when he says at p. lxii—" Because the Yüe-chi are in this very passage, stated to have their capital at Lan-shi, we may infer that the hundred years are reckoned from some date subsequent to Chang K'ien's visit". But he is misguided in dating the event after 25-55 A.D. by an entirely wrong consideration. He says that as the later Han annalist (Fan-Ye) definitely states that in the Hou Han-shu he has ' chosen what in the events of the period Kien-Wu (A.D. 25-55) or later was different from what has already been said formerly,' he ' deals with the events that happened in and after the period Kien-wu (A.D. 25-55) ' (p. lxii). But the statement of the annalist does not mean that every event he relates must necessarily refer to the period 25-55 A.D. and later, for he does relate events of a period before 25-55 A.D., namely, the defeat of the Yüe-chi by the Hiung-nu, their migration to the Ta-hia, etc. The author definitely dates the event with reference to the migration to the Ta-hia country

(*'more than a hundred years'*). Fan-Ye's main authority for the period was Pan Yung who wrote at the end of the reign of Ngan (107-125 A.D.) : " all the facts have been related by Pan Yung at the end of the reign of emperor Ngan ". The conquests of the two Kadphises must have been complete by then. It is reasonable to suppose that an author who wrote before 120 A.D., sitting in China must have had the event of the reign of Yen-kao-chen or W'ima Kavthisa a few decades later than the event. It is not possible to accept Konow's date for Kanishka as 128 A.D., when he thinks that Kanishka was W'ima's successor. By C. 120 A.D. the career of W'ima had been already a recorded history (*'From this time the Yüe-chi became extremely powerful'*). The Chinese before 125 A.D., had the full information of W'ima's conquests as the Hou Han-shu says ' Tien-chu is another name of Shan-tu '(Sindhu) '.....the province of Sindhu comprises all the country from the Yüe-chi and Kao-fu to the S. W. and indeed westward as far as the sea, and eastward as far as the country of Pan-ki. At that time, (i.e., before 125 A.D.) they were all dependent on the Yüe-chi. The Yüe-chi killed its princes and placed deputies who ruled the subjects ". (Franke, I.A., 1906, p. 44; Konow, p. lxvii).

§ 33. That the date selected for the beginning of the Yüe-chi kingdom under Kuei-shuang, i.e., after 25 A.D., is wrong is conclusively proved by a Chinese evidence, which shows that the king of the Yüe-chi had been in existence before 2 B.C. :—

" In the first year of the period Yuan-shou of the emperor Ai ti of the Han dynasty, [i.e., in the year 2 B.C.] the Assistant in the sacrificial office of the royal ancestral temple..... received from the ambassador of the king of Ta Yüe-chi, named I-ts'un, the Buddhist Sūtras in a vernacular translation."

The quotation is from the Wei Annals as rendered by Franke (I. A., 1906, p. 44). In this connexion we may recall what Fan Ye in his annals of the Later Han (Hou Han-Shu) says about Ta Yüe-chi—"In all the kingdoms they were spoken of as the kings of Kuei-shuang but the Han stuck to their old designation and called them Ta Yüe-chi." (Konow,

p. lxii). The king Kuei-shuang is thus the king of Ta Yüechi, and he was in existence in 2 B.C. He must have come into existence before that and not after 25 A.D.

§34. The whole chronology proposed by Konow is the outcome of his dating the rise of the Kuei-shuang monarchy after 25 A.D. That necessitated him to presume the foundation of the era of 78 A.D. in the reign of W'ima and to take Kanishka's era as a second Kushāna era. Its real date being before 2 B.C. and over a hundred years after 135 B.C.—126 B.C., the foundation of that kingdom will fall between C. 35 B.C. and 2 B.C.

Date of Sodasa.

§35. The date in the inscription of Āmohinī of the reign of Maha-Kshatrpa Śoḍasa (E. I., II, 202, plate no. 1) is 42, and not 72. I do not agree with Lüders and Konow in reading it as 72. Bühler inclined more towards 42 and he gave that reading in his text. Prof. Rapson has throughout maintained that it is 42 (C. H. I. p., 576,n). I have personally no doubt that it is 42. Throughout the range of Indian epigraphy nowhere the symbol reads 70, and everywhere it reads 40.

§36. There is no reason why this isolated inscription be dated in the Vikrama era, while all the contemporary records under the first Śaka occupation be dated in the old Śaka era. In fact, Śoḍasa, coming after Rañjubula, does fall in the old Śaka century. The order of the Mathurā rulers is

1. Hagamāsha and Hagāna (C. H. I, p. 527),
2. Rañjubula,
3. Yuvarāja Kharaosta and,
Kshatrpa Śoḍasa (Lion Capital inscription).
4. Mahākshatrpa Śoḍasa.
5. Mahārāja Mahākshatrpa Me ... (Mathurā inscription, E.I., II. 199).

Rañjubula's and his predecessor's coins succeed the Śunga coins (*Indian Coins*, p. 13, C. H. I., plate V, 7), and Rañjubula also imitates the coins of Strato II. He can therefore be safely assigned to 90 B.C. Taking 42 as a year in the old

Śaka era, Śoḍāsa as Mahākshatrapa will be C. 81 B.C. In the Lion Capital inscription at Mathurā Mevaki, who is described as Mahākshatrapa Kusulaka Patika Mevaki*, and Kshatrapa Miyika are amongst the outsiders followed by 'the whole of Sakastana' in whose honour the gift is made, and Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa is the actual officer at Mathurā under Prince Kharaosta, reminding us of the Maurya ruling princes at the Provincial Capitals. It seems that princes acted as rulers, as we have Kharaosta as Kshatrapa on coins and we have a *Mahārāja Mahākshatrapa* about the time of Śoḍāsa at Mathurā. His name began with *Me* or *Ma*, probably it was Mevaki (E. I. II, 199). Mevaki's coins seems to be imitated from Śoḍāsa (J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 548). Its defaced legend which Dr. Bhagawan Lal Indraji read as *Sakamita Khatapasa putasa Mevakusa*. Mevaki seems to have belonged to the royal blood. Śoḍāsa cannot be near A.D., as Sir John Marshall opines, if Rañjubula was nearer the Śuṅgas and Strato II.

§36. Soon after the Śuṅgas lost Ujjayinī, about 100 B.C., they seem to have lost Mathurā which was one of their strong centres. We may put Hagamāsha and Hagāna C. 100 B.C. and Rañjubula about 90—85 B.C. It seems that after a generation following Śoḍāsa, Mathurā was lost to these Seistan Śakas. No inscription after Mahārāja Mahā-Kshatrapa Me° is found, but that would not have been sufficient by itself. We have, in addition, the coins of new Hindu kings intervening between the Satraps and the Kushānas (J. R. A. S., 1899, p. 553) who bear names recalling Śuṅga and Kāṇva names, e.g., Vishnumitra (cf. Nārāyaṇa), Gomitra (cf. Bhūmimitra).

§37. It appears that the defeat of the Śakas at Ujjain in 58 B.C. meant their loss of Mathurā which had been knit together from the time of Pradyota. The revival of the Hindu power at Mathurā synchronises with the Kāṇvāyanas at the imperial seat Pāṭaliputra. The first Kāṇva was probably a contemporary of Śoḍāsa.

* See below § 38.

Patika.

§ 38. Patika of the Taxila plate of the year 78 was at or near Taxila in (123 B.C.—78) 45 B.C. His father Liaka Kusuluka was then the Kshatrapa. There is no evidence that he became a Kshatrapa or a Mahākshatrapa of Taxila. It is not possible to identify him with the Patika of the Lion Capital (*Mahākshatrapa Kusuluasa Patikasa Mevakisa Miyikasa Kshatravasa puyae*). The Lion Capital record must come before S. 42 when Śoḍāsa was a Mahākshatrapa, as on the Lion Capital he is only a Kshatrapa. Patika of the Lion Capital therefore preceded Patika of Taxila by some 40 years. The Mathurā Patika before S. 42 was already a Mahākshatrapa, while even the father of the Taxila Patika in S. 78 had not attained the position of a Mahā-kshatrapa, as he was only a Kshatrapa and Patika himself was merely Patika without any official designation*. As the text stands, Mevaki may be read with Patika (Patika Mevaki) or with Miyika (Mevaki Miyika). *Mevaki* is Scythic, but *miyika* probably Parthian, it being compared with Pahlavi *meγān*. I am inclined to read it as the chief member in *Patikasa Mevakisa*. Mevaki, evidently, was later on styled as *Mahārāja Mahākshatrapa*, it is reasonable to expect *Kusulaa* (or *kusulua*) added before his name. We have no coin of Patika, while we have of Mevaki. It seems probable that it was Patika Mevaki, and not an independent Patika. If there was a Mahākshatrapa Patika before S. 42, he must have been a Mahākshatrapa in some other part of the Śaka empire, and a different person from that of Taxila. Recurrence of names are not an unknown phenomenon in Śaka history, e.g., Dāmazad, Kanishka, etc.

The Lion Capital inscription is the oldest Śaka record that we have got in inscriptions. It must come before S. 42 (before 81 B.C.). It mentions King *Muki* who is the same as *Moga* as already suggested by Konow (p. 39). He was alive

Jauva* there refers to the Kshatrapa, not to Patika : with the sanction of the *Jauva* ('at the command of the *Jauva*, by Rohinimitra *' which is in full accord with 'To Patika. (signed) *Liaka*' (K. Kh. I. pp. 28-29).

at that date and the date of the Mairā inscription (year 58) and the date of the Taxila plate (yr. 78), i.e., C. 80 to 45 B.C.

Nahapana.

§ 39. The accepted view is to refer the years 41 to 46 which occur in the inscriptions of the reign of Nahapāna to the era of 78 A.D. I objected to this in 1914 in my paper on *Brahmin Empire* on the grounds that this ruler is expressly dated in the Jaina chronology and that it is not possible to press in all the known events of the Sātavāhana and the Western Satrap history within the short period from the year 46 to the reign of Rudradāman, if the former be referred to the era 78 A.D. ($78 + 46 = 124$ A.D.). Chashtana, Rudradāman's predecessor and grandfather, was ruling before 130 A. D. when Ptolemy wrote*. From 1914 to 1920 I pointed out more than once that Nahapāna has to be placed in the B. C. century. Since then the subject was further developed. Mr. R. D. Banerjee in his papers on *Nahapāna and the Śaka Era* (J. R. A. S., 1925, page 1 ff) showed that if Nahapāna's years were in the era of 78 A.D. there was no room for the conquests of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (pp. 11-12), and the paleography of the inscriptions of Ushavadāta-USabhadāta (Rishabhadatta), son-in-law of Nahapāna, is not in favour of an A. D. date. There is a great difference in age in the letters of Usavadāta and those of Rudradāman (Junagadh Inscription), the letters of the former are of the type of Śoḍāsa (pp. 12-19).

§ 40. The difference in time which is assumed between Rudradāman (A. D. 130, Andhau date) and Usavadāta (supposed to be $46 + 78 = 124$ A. D.) is negated by the scripts used by them. If Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi uprooted the Kshaharāta

*His recorded observations are from 127 A.D. to 151 A. D. and the date of his geography must be before 150 A.D. (the date of the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman) and should be before 130 A.D. (Andhau) when Rudradāman was ruling, and Rudradāman as a ruler is unknown to him. [The theory of a joint rule of Rājān Chashtana and Rājān Rudradāman is effectively disposed of by R. D. Banerji. (J. R. A. S., 1917).

(Nahapāna) after the year 46 (supposed to be 124 A.D.) whose rule included Ujjain, how could Chashtana be ruling at Ujjain about 124 A.D.? It is evident that Nahapāna has to be referred to another era. The script connects him with the system having the Mathurā Satraps, his family designation (*Kshaharāta*) connects him with the Taxila Satraps (Liaka), and the Jaina chronology expressly mentions him as the ruler defeated in 58 B.C. What Dr. Konow reads as *Nahavahana*, majority of MSS. read as *Nahavāna*. Bühler quoted the Jaina gāthās for the first time, in the *I. A.*, Vol. II, p. 362. Dr. Klatt in his paper on *Historical Records of the Jainas* in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, at p. 252, dealing with the Paṭṭāvali of the Tapāgachchha, corrected Bühler's reading *Nahavahana* : "in V. 8 read *Nahavāna* for *Nahavahana*". I need hardly say that *Nahavāna* stands for *Nahapāna*.*

§41. Now, according to Jinasena, Nahavāna (mis-reading 'Naravāha') was the king in 58 B.C. and according to the Paṭṭāvaligāthās Nahavāna lived 13+4 years before 58 B.C. These four years the gāthās give to 'the Śaka king' and the 13 yrs. to Gaddabhila, while Jinasena's Nā[hapā]na stands in place of the gāthā's Śaka king. Anyhow the difference of 17 years is negligible for the purpose of determining the period of Nahapāna broadly. In any case he is placed near and before 58 B.C. According to the Jaina chronologies of Avanti and Ujjayinī, Nahapāna ruled up to 75 B.C. or 58 B.C. Those chronologies assign him 40 (Paṭṭāvali) or 42 years (Jinasena), that is, from B.C. 115 or 100 B.C. to B.C. 75 or 58 B.C. I have already preferred 100 B.C. — 58 B.C. (§§ 18—20).

§42. Now let us test this result with reference to the dates in Usavadāta's inscriptions. It is universal that the

*See the evidence of the Jaina *Avastya Sūtra*-chūrpi, giving details of the defeat of Nahavāna at his capital Bharu-kachchha, § 99 ff. below. The Paṭṭāvali will place his time ending few years before, but Jinasena, who is prior, in 58 B.C. See above § 18. For the Purāṇic datum placing *Nahavān* before the end of the Śuṅgas, see below § 98. Sir J. Marshall would place Usavadāta's cave. C. 50. B.C. (C. H. I., p. 637).

Śakas date their records, not in regnal years, but in eras. Further, if Nahapāna belonged to the governmental system which included the Mathurā and Taxila Satraps, we have to refer his years to the same old Saka era. His years then will correspond to (B.C. 123 *minus* 41) B.C. 82 to B.C. 77 (B. C. 123 *minus* 46), that is, he was a contemporary of Śodāsa and his father. The Jaina datum 40 years, 42 years or 40 + 4 (for the 'Śaka kings' '4 years') probably includes the reign of Bhūmaka Kshaharāta, just as the Vasu-and-Agnimitra years mean their family-period. Bhūmaka would have been contemporary to Hagamāsha and Hagāna with whose coinage he is connected (Smith, *Early History*, 1924, p. 232).

§43. When the Kshaharāta family is uprooted in Western India by Gautamīputra Śatakarṇi who by his deeds of valour reminded his people of the heroes of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, the Kshaharāta [Liaka] immediately reappears C. 55—45 B.C. at Taxila. The dates show that between the year 46 [at Junnar] and the year 68 (at Fatehganj) the family is transferred to Taxila. This supports the Jaina datum which would make the Śaka quit the Western theatre about 58 B.C., the Kshaharāta appearing 3 years and 13 years after 58 B.C. at Fatehganj and Taxila. We should not be surprized if some later record proves Liaka to be a son or a nephew of Nahapāna. Rishabhadatta was avowedly a Śaka. Jinasena's chronology treats Nahapāna as a Śaka. Whatever the form of his name, which is no test as the Śakas used also Parthian and Hindu names, Nahapāna was a Satrap under the Śaka king. Like the Governor of the Mauryas, he bore the title *Rājan*. Probably the Śuṅga governor also had the title, as the coins of Balabhūti (Balamitra) would suggest. The Kālakāchārya-kathānaka says that the Śaka chiefs were self-governing under an overlord. At any rate, the title of *Rājan* was attached to the Viceroyalty of Saurāshṭra from the time of the Mauryas down to the time of Kanishka and later.

§44. *Rishabhadatta* is purely a Jaina name: 'given by *Rishabha* (the Tīrthaṅkara)'. This shows that the influence of

Kālaka who is related to have made the Indian Shahis his religious followers, was real. Usabhadāta was in the second generation of the contemporaries of Kālaka.

§45. The Śaka names of the Kshaharāta family ending in *ka* (Bhūmaka, Liaka, Patika) would indicate that Nahapāna was a Śaka though bearing a Parthian name, which would have been an outcome of the Parthian subordination of the Seistan Śakas. [Possibility of some Parthians having been in the service of the early Śakas as under the later ones, e.g., under Rudradāman, is of course, certain.]

§46. A long reign has been attributed to Nahapāna on the evidence of his 13,000 coins (S., *E. H.*, p. 232). And the Jaina records assign him about 40 years.

Vikrama Era.

§47. I have not the least doubt that **Gautamiputra Satakarni** was the **Vikramaditya** of the popular stories and the Jaina gāthās. It has been already pointed out by Prof. Rapson that Ujjain was included in Nahapāna's territory (*CAD.*, p. lviii). Under the Mauryas definitely, under the Śuṅgas on the authority of Jinasena, and under Chasṣṭana on the authority of Ptolemy, it was the western capital. As Prof. Rapson shows from the analysis of the inscriptions of Rishabhādatta and Gautamīputra (who confirms the grants of Rishabhādatta on his victory against the Kshaharāta) and the coins of Nahapāna restruck by Gautamīputra (*CAD.*, p. XXXI ff), there is not the least doubt that Nahapāna was conquered by Gautamīputra and the whole of Mālava including Avanti with Ujjain was freed by him. This conclusion is fully supported by the Jaina text now discovered and discussed by me below [§§ 99—105] which says that the Śalavāhana king took Nahavāna's capital after repeated attacks and Nahavāna was killed in the last siege.

§48. From the Mālava coins we get the information that in the first century B.C. the **Gana of the Malavas** struck coins in commemoration of some great **victory** of theirs (*Mālavānaṁ jaya*, *Mālavagaṇasya jaya*, Smith, C. I. M., pp. 170,

173, plate XX) which are in characters of the first century B.C. This evidence of the coins proves the existence of the Mālava-gaṇa in the first cent. B.C. in Eastern Rajputana. It seems probable that the Mālavas took a leading part in the defeat of the Śakas in Rajputana at the time of the Śaka debacle in Central India and Malwa. They counted an era from that year and probably it was counted also at Ujjain. On the present evidence, what seems to have happened is that the Mālavas celebrated their re-foundation of an independent state with 58 B.C. and adopted the *Kṛita* calendar, which has been successfully explained by Konow (p. lxxxvi) as the seasonal year. This is exactly the calendar we find in the inscriptions of Gautamīputra and his son. It appears that the Mālavas were the author of the Era as marking the foundation of their Rajputana gaṇa-state which synchronized with the defeat of the Śakas and was evidently connected with it. Anniversaries of countries or states are known from the Artha-Śāstra*. The Era is certainly a continuous secular reckoning of early Hindu times. The official dating used to be in regnal years which is laid down in the Arthaśāstra (Ch. 27) and is evidenced by Aśoka's inscriptions. The Purāṇas have traces of a continuous reckoning from the birth of Parīkshit, the death of Kṛishṇa, and the coronation of Nanda. I cannot accept Konow's view that continuous eras, except the death-eras of the Buddha and the Mahāvīra, were unknown to the Hindus before 58 B.C. (p. xcii). In any case, in addition to the example of the old Śaka era itself the Mālavas had the traditional Hindu system of celebrating the anniversary of the birth of a capital and state. Probably they were more impressed by the Śaka example.

§49. Gautamīputra did not found an era. His son used his own regnal years. It was founded by the Mālavas, on the evidence of the oldest inscriptions dated in the era. It was primarily an era known in Rajputana and eastern Mālwa. The

* D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 10.

Jainas had their special reason to remember it, i.e., their association with the foundation of the Śaka State at Ujjain. It was probably through the Jainas that it spread in other parts of India. It was connected with the same main fact both at Ujjain in Avanti (Western Malwa) and the neighbouring country of the Malavagana, outside the sphere of the conquests of Gautamîputra.

§ 50. There is one more significant matter, known to the Jaina chronology, which connects the Śaka defeat in 58 B.C. with Gautamîputra. One branch of the Jainas says that 58 B.C. was the date of Vikrama's coronation on the defeat of the Śakas, while the other takes 58 B.C. as the date of his birth and adds 17 years for his coronation. There is a difference of 17 years between the pre-coronation period of Vikrama and the Śaka defeat in 58 B.C. (J. B. O. R. S., I, p. 101, I.A., XX 247). This difference is really due to the fact that Gautamîputra defeated Nahapāna in his 18th regnal year (Rapson, C. A. D., p. XXX). Year 58 B.C. or the beginning of the Vikram Era—the Era of Victory—fell in the 18th year of his reign. The confusion in the Jaina chronologies in taking 58 B.C. as the first year of the reign of Vikrama or 18 years before 58 B.C., arose from that fact. One school of the Jainas explained that difference as the pre-coronation years 'from the birth of Vikrama upto his coronation'. The other school maintained that the gāthā date comes down to 58 B.C. and not 18 years later. The latter view is the prevailing one. The confusion, however, preserves the fact of the conquest having been in the 18th year of the victorious king, who would be no other than Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi. I agree with Dr. Konow in his conclusion that Vikramāditya of 58 B.C. was a historical figure, a national hero (p. lxxxv). I have maintained that view throughout. With the identification of Nahavāna with Nahapāna, we necessarily get Gautamîputra Śātakarṇi = Vikramāditya, and his known achievements fully justify that

claim. In fact there is no other king of that period known to history who can answer the description.*

§ 51. There are two Jaina gāthās giving the life-history of Vikrama : his total age was 55, out of which for 15 years he was Brahmanical and for 40 years a Jaina. They imply that his reign was counted from his birth. The reign of 55 years agrees with the Purāṇas which give 56 years (counting fractions of a year as one whole year) to Śātakarṇi II, i.e., Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. The Śvetāmbara tradition takes 58-57 B.C. (470 years after the Mahāvīra, i.e., after 527 B. C.) as the year of Vikrama's accession by which they mean the year of the Śaka defeat (Kālakāchārya-kathānaka and others). The Digambaras say that 58-57 B.C. was the year of his birth (implying that he reigned from his birth as a child).

The point which is important for identification is the agreement between the Purāṇas and the gāthās about the reign period of the king.

Combining and reconciling the two Jaina versions we may deduce that

- (1) the defeat of the Śakas was in 58-57 B.C.
- (2) the year 58-57 B.C. was in the 18th year of his *abhisheka*.

This explains the commanding position of the Queen-Mother Gautamī who had been evidently the regent during the minority of her son, and probably like Jijā Bai, mother of Śivājī, was responsible for the career of his son. The Jaina gāthās further give the information that upto his 24th year Vikrama did not start on his career of royalty. According to the Hindu constitutional practice, a prince upto the 24th year (inclusive) played and

* The identification of the Śātakarṇi of Rudradāman's inscription with Gautamīputra's son Pulumāvi is necessarily wrong. He is one of the Śātakarṇis coming later by ninety years (see below § 124 ff.).

Prof. Rapson (p. XLVI) is not right in conjecturing that the Sanchi inscription of Śātakarṇi is of Vāsishthīputra Śātakarṇi and that it belongs to the reign of Śātakarṇi I of the Nanaghat inscription. I have published this record in J. B. O. R. S., III. It is clearly a later document belonging to the paleography of Śātakarṇi II and he is not described there as Vāsishthīputra.

For the first time in a Hindu record the Parthian royal style 'the King of Kings' is found in the insc. of Balasri describing her son as 'Rāja-Rasie Gotami putasa'. (E. I., VIII, 60.)

learnt (Bṛihaspatīsūtra, I.89). Khāravela (Hāthi. insc. I. 2) upto the end of the 15th year played, and upto completing his 24th year was only Yuvarāja, and in the beginning of the 25th was crowned king (sāmpuṇa chatuvīsati vasa tadāni....Māhārājabhisechanam pāpunāti). The gāthās say exactly the same about Vikrama :
 sattari chatu-sada-jutto tina kāla Vikkamo havai jammo,
 aṭha varasa bālalilā soḍasa vasehi bhammiye desa.
 (I. A., 1891, p. 347).

Now taking his 18th year = 58-57 B.C., at the date of the Śaka battle he was (24 + 18) 42 years old. He succeeded like Khāravela when he was an infant, he reigned upto the 31st year of his *abhisheka* to complete 56 or 55 years. We have inscriptions in his reign up to the 24th year of his reign.*

§ 52. The tradition of 18 years after 470 A.M. for Vikrama, i.e., his conquest, amongst the Digambaras, which is not explainable (as observed by Dr. Hoernle) otherwise, becomes explainable : they had a genuine tradition about the battle having taken place in the 18th regnal year of the Victor, which is fully supported by inscriptions. The inscriptions, the Jaina gāthās, and the Purāṇas thus agree.

§ 53. The Jaina chronological gāthās, if properly understood, have yielded almost accurate chronology and history. Their date for Nahapāna and Vikrama or Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is one of the best contributions of that chronology. I have already, elsewhere, discussed the value of their chronology on the history of Chandragupta, as placing his accession in 325 B.C.† which I regard as accurate, as against Vincent Smith's date for that event, as 323 B.C.

King Kushana.

§ 54. Dr. Konow's result is in full agreement with my own conclusion (J. B. O. R. S., 1920, p. 21) that the

* His mother who outlived him and was living in the 19th year of his son, must have been about 90 (55 + 15 + 19 = 89). On inscriptions alone, she had seen two reigns of descendants, covering not less than 43 years, and she could not have been less than 85.

† J.B.O.R.S., I. pp. 103-4; 116.

Kushāna dynasty is to be regarded as Śakan (see also §57). I, however, take 'Kushāna' not as the name of a tribe or family, but as a personal name adopted by the founder of the dynasty, whom we may for the sake of identification call Kadphises I. There are two inscriptions which leave no room for doubt regarding this thesis. Panjtar (of the year 122) and Taxila scroll (of 136) (Konow, pp. 67, 70).

Panjtar (year 122) reads :—*Maharajasa Gushanasa raja(mi)*.

Taxila scroll reads :—*Maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrassa Khushanasa arogadakshinae*.

It is impossible to translate it as "the Kushāna Mahārāja" or as 'the Mahārāja the Kushāna' as Dr. Konow has done.

Let us take some other inscriptions of the dynasty :—

- I. (a) Mahārājasya rājātīrājasya devaputrasya Shāhi Kanishkasya (Mathurā Insc. of year 7, Lüders, no. 21).
- (b) Mahārājātīrājasya Kanishkasya (Mathurā, Lüders, no. 79).
- (c) Mahārājasya Devaputrasya Kanishkasya (British Museum, Lüders, no. 23).
- (d) Mahārājasya Kanishkasya rājyasamvatsare navame (Mathurā, Lüders, no. 22).
- (e) Mahārājasya Kanishkasya (Sarnath, L. 925).
- II. Mahārājasya Devaputrasya Huvishkasya (L. 41).
- „ „ Rājātīrājasya Huvishkasya (L. 149).
- III. (Mahārāja)sya rājātīrāja-(deva)putrasya Shāhi Vāsahkasya (Sanchi, L. 161).
- IV. Maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrassa Kaisarasa Vajheshkaputrassa Kanishkasa (Year 41, Ara).
- V. Mahārājasya Rājātīrājasya shāhir Vāsudevasya (L. 72).

Even earlier than I (a) we have the Māt statue of W'ima :

Mahārājo rājātīrājo Devaputro Kushānaputro Sh[ā]hi Vema
(J. B. O. R. S., 1920, p. 14).

On the above evidence we have to translate Panjtar and Taxila records as—

‘of Mahārāja Kushāna’:

‘of Mahārāja rājātirāja Devaputra Khushāna.’

In other words, we have to take Kushāna as the personal name of the king. It will be untenable to suppose that after having all the dynastic and imperial titles in the silver scroll, the place where we would expect the proper name will be filled up by a race—or family-designation. Kushānaputra on the Māt statue, like Vājreshkaputra at Ara and numerous instances in Western Kshatrapa records, prove that the personal name of the father of W’ima was Kushāna.

§55. The Chinese *Kuei-shuang* which was the name of the *hi-huo* or the shāhi chiefdom of the *yuva* ruler “called *K’iu-tsin-k’io*”, may not represent Kushāna, but some other Sakish word altogether different. We have, for instance, *Kuei-shuang-ni-kia* about which Professor Franke holds that the two names have nothing to do with each other. *Kuei-shuang* seems to me to have an accidental resemblance. *Kushana-sena* occurring as a personal name in Central Asian documents is consistent with *Kushāna* having been a personal name. The Chinese authorities suggest *Kuei-shuang* rather as a place-name than as a race-name. Whatever the origin of the word *Kushāna* itself, which was probably a matter of speculation amongst Indian pandits, like the author of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitkā*, just as it is to-day amongst scholars, what I want to emphasise is that actual contemporary, formal documents disclose ‘*Kushāna*’ as the personal name of the father and predecessor of W’ima. Why should formal documents have a void, and, defeat their very purpose by leaving the king unnamed?

§56. *Koshano* of Kanishka’s coins represents *Kaushāna*, ‘a descendant of (King) *Kushāna*’.

The nationality of the Kushanas.

§57. As already observed above, Dr. Konow considers the *Kushānas* to have been Śakas, and I fully accept this view, which is the conclusion to which I arrived independently

(J. B. O. R. S., 1920). I may add that the officer, who had the Devakula of W'ima constructed, an officer certainly of Kanishka, probably a *kshatrapa* (the letters after *ksha* have disappeared), is designated as the chief of *Varkana* (Barkana-patina Huma-ksha(trape)na kārīta). The governor of Mathurā thus seems to have been a Hyrcanian Śaka, reminding us of the Persian *Saká Haumvarká*. Evidently his descendant, Śānkra, a general in the time of Huvishka, repaired the Devakula of the grandfather of Huvishka, i.e., the Devakula of W'ima with whom the Devakula started and to whom it was dedicated. He is *mahādanda-nāyaka* and *Bakanapati* (J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 402). Of course, a servant's nationality would not prove the nationality of the master. Yet the association of a Warkān chief is worth noticing. Similarly the funerary statue of Chashtana ('Sashtana') in the Devakula of W'ima and Kanishka, connects the Western Satraps with the Kushāna kings by blood relationship, and the identity of the Western Satraps as Śakas is undisputed. Kanishka's era by itself, as the Śaka era, is the strongest proof of his nationality. The inscription of Samudragupta leaves no room for any doubt on the subject (*see also* § 142).

II.

ON SATAVAHANA HISTORY.

Struggle of the Satavahana Dynasty with the Sungas and the Sakas.

§ 58. At the end of the Maurya dynasty four persons competed for the imperial throne of Bhāratavarsha: (1) Pushyāmītra Śūnga, (2) Demetrius, (3) Śātakarṇi I and (4) Khāravela. The second, successful in the beginning but finally beaten, had to return to his own country. The first performed the imperial *Aśvamedha* twice, and, on the evidence of the *Harivamśa*, was the first to revive it after Janamejaya.* The third also

* J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIV, p. 24.

performed the same imperial sacrifice twice and also Rājasūya : he is called *mahān* 'the great' by the Purāṇas.† The fourth one, Khāravela, challenged them all. 'Not caring for Sātakarṇi in the West', he invaded the Rāṭhikas and Bhojakas, feudatories of Sātakarṇi; he forced his elephants into the imperial palace Sugāṅgeya itself at Pāṭaliputra. Khāravela interposed in the careers of both Sātakarṇi, who had assumed the title of the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, and the Śuṅga emperor of Bhāratavarsha over which Khāravela undertook a regular march of triumph, making Uttarāpatha shake all over; the Greek king retired, hearing of his advance. He performed the imperial Rājasūya. But after all, Khāravela evidently proved a passing rival; both Sātakarṇi and Pushyamitra seem to have outlived him according to the chronology adduced below. Probably by their second Aśvamedhas both the Śuṅga and the Sātavāhana re-established their position, evidently one content with Northern India and the other with Dakṣiṇāpatha.† Both were Brahmins‡ and both ultra-Brahmanical.

§ 59. The Śuṅga power following the Maurya, had its Western seat at Ujjain. On the evidence of the Jaina chronology, for 90 years the Śuṅgas remained at Ujjain. The Jains expressly name Pushyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra, Balamitra and Bhānumitra. The last two were probably royal princes and viceroys in Avanti. That they did flourish is proved by their coins found under the names of *Balaśhūti* and *Bhānumitra* in script and fabric of the Śuṅga mintage and in association with Śuṅga coins of Brihaspatimitra, Agnimitra, etc. (Smith, C.I.M., p. 190, p. 185-7; Rapson, I.C., pp. 9, 13).

§ 60. The next stage is the period about 100 B.C., when the contesting parties are three. The Śakas come on the scene.

† Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa.

‡ We have no evidence, but it is probable that the two came to some understanding, combining against the Kalinga power; otherwise the co-existence of two Aśvamedhas, performers, one of whom does also the Rājasūya, is not explicable. It seems that what Khāravela calls *Bhāratavarsha* was male distinct from the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* empire by some agreement or understanding.

§ I pointed this out in 1914. See below § 72.

To become the King of Kings, they must dispute the position of the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha and the Lord of Uttarāpatha or Bhāratavarsha. The centre, rather the key, round which the dispute must be decided was Ujjain from which the road to the northern capitals Vidiśa (Besnagar, Bhilsā), Mathurā, Ahi-chhatra, Śaketa and Pāṭaliputra opened. Ujjain and Mathurā—Avanti (with Ākara-Avanti) and Śurasena—were connected.

§ 61. Now following the Jaina data, we get the following history. Gardabhillā and Vikramāditya were Hindu dynasts.* Before the Śakas, for a short period of 13 years, Gardabhillā or Gardabhila took Ujjain. Then Gardabhillā was dispossessed by the Śaka confederacy. Then came in Vikramāditya whose family ruled uncontested for 135 years. The Hindu tradition says that the Sātavāhana of 78 A.D. was a descendant of Vikramāditya. On an analysis of the historical materials that we now possess, it seems that both the Jaina and Brahmanical traditions are right in substance, that Vikramāditya was a Sātavāhana as the astronomers say and as the *Viracharita* and other romances allege and that Gardabhillā was also a Hindu king.†

§ 62. Gardabhillā of the Jainas has his name spelt in the Purāṇas as (Pargiter, Pr., pp. 45-46) :

- (1) *Gardabhin.*
- (2) *Gardabhila.*
- (3) *Kardabhila.*
- (4) *Gardabhṛita.*
- (5) *Gardabhika.*

* They were not, but they could be father and son. One flourished about 112 B. C. (see below and sections 19-21) and the other about 58 B.C. But the dynasties were, different according to the Purāṇas. They were, however, connected by marriage, about 78 A.D. (§ 109 ff.).

† Merutuṅga's *Sthavirāvali* (ed. Muni Jinaviyaya, *Jaina-sāhitya-saṁśodhaka*, Vol. II, nos. 3-4) says that Gardabhillā was descended from Samprati Maurya. In other words, he is regarded as a Hindu, and not an outsider Mlechchha, belonging to a royal dynasty whose identity was lost but who did go to the Maurya times.

We may take it that the original from which the dynastic name was formed (*Gardabhi + la*, *Gardabhi + ka* or *Gardabhin*) was *Gardabha*.

§ 63. The Gargasambhitā says that the Śaka king was defeated and killed by (or, on account of) Śata king of Kalinga (J. B. O. R. S., 1928, 404) and that the Śakas appeared on the Śiprā (*ibid.* p. 408).

§ 64. The connection between Sātavāhana and Vikramāditya is established in Hindu tradition with reference to the Sātavāhana in 78 A. D.

§ 65. The Jains say that Vikramāditya was the son, i.e., the successor of Gardabhillā. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who is given 56 years reign in the Purāṇas against 56 of the Jains for Vikramāditya came to the throne as a minor and at the age of 42 (18th year inscription + 24 for coronation) defeated and uprooted the Khaharāta (see above §) and Kshaharāta was a Śaka family on the evidence of the Taxila plate. Apart from it, he is described as destroyer of the Śakas who are associated with the Palhavas and the Yavanas, that is, the early B. C. Śakas. Now Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi being 42 in 58 B. C., he succeeded his father *cir.* 100 B. C. which is the time of the first Śaka conquest.

We thus get a fixed point in the Andhra chronology in the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi or Satakarni II of the Purāṇas. Let us now see if this can be verified from other sources.

§ 66. The date of the inscription of the Mahāmātya of "Kṛishṇa of the Śātavāhana dynasty" at Nasik (A. S. W. I., IV, 73, Rapson, C. A. K. S., p. XLVI, C. H. I., p. 530) is considered to be about 200 B. C. on paleographical grounds. The date of the Nānāghāt inscription where Śātakarṇi I's name appears, on paleographical grounds, is considered to be before Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's and his son's Puṣumāvi's inscriptions by 100 years (A. S. W. I., IV, 73). Kṛishṇa Śātavāhana was the immediate predecessor of Śātakarṇi I and is given a rule of 18 or 10 years by the various Purāṇas. Putting Śātakarṇi I

therefore about 180 B. C., we shall have to place G. Śātakarṇi about 80 B. C. M. Senart considers the inscription numbered 19 under Nasik Cave no. 18 in the *E. I.*, VIII, p. 91, of which the characters are of the same type as those of Ushavadāta's and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's records, to be two generations removed from the Nānāghat letters (p. 92). I may here add that the reign of Śātakarṇi (I) of the Hāthīgumphā inscription, on the basis of the date of the Greek invasion of Pāṭaliputra, falls about 182 B. C. (J. B. O. R. S., XIII, p. 244). Professor Rapson's date for Śātakarṇi I is about 184 B. C. (C. H. I., p. 530). Śātakarṇi I being about 180 B. C., Śātakarṇi II's (Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's) inscription cannot be of the period about 124 A. D., or his son Puṣumāvi cannot be a contemporary of Rudradāman,* as Professor Rapson, Doctor V. Smith and Doctor Konow think. The character of Rudradāman's inscription alone is sufficient to establish that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Puṣumāvi must be removed from Rudradāman by more than hundred years.

Chronology of Satakarni II and his son Pulumavi.

§67. I have discussed the Purāṇic chronology of the Sātavāhanas in my papers on *Brahmin Empire*, first published in the *Express* in 1914. The materials dealing with the kings connected with Śaka history I reproduce here, for the papers published in the *Express* are not available to scholars easily.

§68. The Purāṇas are never so confused as in respect of the order of the 'Andhra' kings. They not only disagree amongst themselves widely, but even the manuscripts of the same Purāṇa, especially in the case of the Matsya, disclose wide differences. Yet it is not impossible to determine the original order.

*Dāman, I think, stands for varman = Persian, *dāmān*, 'clothes' Rudradāmā = Rudravarmā. Six Jivanji Modi points out the example of O. Persian *pūtadāmān* ('of pure skirts') Jayadāman seems to be mentioned in the Kathā-sarit-sāgara as Jayavarman (see § 120 ff., below).

§69. There were evidently two sets of data before the Purāṇa authors, and they utilized them independently. They are divisible in two groups, one group consisting of the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa and the other being the Matsya, the Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata. The older datum is to be found in the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa. The Matsya is fuller but confused. The cause of the confusion is the repetition of the names in the dynasty, for instance *Śātakarṇi* is repeated more than twice. *Pulumāvi* (with variations in the spelling) comes four times in the Purāṇic list. This system of repeated royal names in the dynasty is confirmed by inscriptions and coins. The earliest inscriptions of the family at Nānāghat show that the first king Simuka bears the name *Simuka-Sātavāhana*, while a prince in the same gallery of portraits is called *Kumāra Sātavāhana*, which means that he was probably a grandson of the first Sātavāhana, as according to the Brahmanic custom the grandsire's name was repeated. As I shall show below, the Sātavāhanas were Brahmins. At Nānāghat we have in the gallery merely Śātakarṇi, i. e., Śātakarṇi I. But when we come to the Nasik inscriptions which are in a later script, we find care being taken to distinguish the next Śātakarṇi by adding his mother's name to his: *Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi*, and this gets so fixed that even in Queen Gautamī Balasri's, that his, his own mother's charter the distinguishing feature is adhered to. This is not the feature in the family inscriptions of the Nānāghat gallery. From the time of Śātakarṇi the Second we have the mother's name often joined on. The joining on of the mother's name was an ancient style independently, as evidenced by the Ghoshundi and Śuṅga inscriptions and the Vedic and epic literatures. Yet it became more marked amongst the Sātavāhanas owing to the fondness of bearing ancestral names.

The coins also disclose (1) King *Sāta*, identified with the first Śātakarṇi of Nānāghat and referred to a period c. 150, B. C. (Rapson, C. A. P., p. 1), (2) Śātakarṇi (Rapson, p. 3) who from the writing, symbols (Elephant, etc.) and fabric seems

to be connected with (1) King Sāta (Rapson, Plate I), (3) Śāta-karṇi whose coins are closely connected with those of the later king Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi (Rapson p. 43). In the Purāṇas we have certainly three Śātakarṇis (without the addition of any other personal name), and, probably, four.

§70. Like the Purāṇa authors, the modern historians, have fallen into a great confusion over the names and their identification, which has led to an ante-dating of the second Śātakarṇi and his son by over a century, and a third Śātakarṇi who came a century later has been identified with the second Satakarni's son Puṣumāvi. The mistake, however, can be corrected. We may note here that the coins have two *Vilivāya-kuras* who are fortunately distinguished by the names of their mothers in each case *Vāishthīputra* and *Sautamīputra*.

§71. Prof. Rapson and Mr. Pargiter have arranged the Andhra names from 1 to 30 on the basis of the Matsya. Mr. Pargiter's list gives 31 (with 24 (a), a Śātakarṇi which is correct as we shall see below). It is not certain whether the Matsya had originally 19 or 29 as the total number of the kings, for the manuscripts vary (Rapson, p. LXIV, p. 4). But the other Purāṇas say that the total number was 30. We may take it that the two sets had two data 29 : 30.

The Vāyu and the Brahmandā say in the preface that they will mention only leading names (*pradhānyataḥ pravakshyāmi*). We may therefore assume that the list of 17 or 19 in the Vāyu MSS. and of 17 in the Brahmandā are not exhaustive, and that the Matsya's list of 30 against its own total of 29 is not only exhaustive but over-exhaustive and re-edited. The list of 23 of the Bhāgavata and 24 of the Viṣṇu is a good guide for checking the present data of the Vāyu and the Brahmandā on the one hand and the Matsya on the other. In spite of the fact that the Vāyu and the Brahmandā admittedly omit what they consider unimportant, their order for the early period, with which we are concerned, here is more reliable, for the Matsya MSS. have interposed names to complete the number

30, carelessly. I have no doubt that most of the names interposed are real. One or two may be re-duplication or the result of splitting one name into two : both these processes are noticeable. As most of the names of the lists have been proved by coins and inscriptions and two (Hāla and Kuntala) by literature, there is a presumption of correctness in their favour, unless the mistake can be demonstrated. The Vāyu mentions the dynastic total as 411 (?) years, the Brahmanḍa, the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata as 456, while the Matsya 460, which again shows that the data were different. At this stage it is not necessary to determine which figure is correct, but it seems that the Matsya's is a round figure and that of the Brahmanḍa, the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata, 456, exact.

§72. Now taking the early chronology we may note that the Matsya definitely says that Śisuka, i.e., Simuka, was of the same caste as the Kāṇvāyaṇas (and probably also the Śuṅgas)*, i.e., a Brahmin. This is confirmed by Queen Balaśrī's inscription when she calls her son *eka-brāhmaṇa* or an unparalleled Brahmin. It is also confirmed by the Aṅgiya Gotra mentioned in the family inscription at Nānāghāt. The *Aṅgi gotra* is a Brahmin family (*Gotra-Pravara-nibandha*, Mysore, ed. 1900, p. 167), the 'Śātakaraṇis' were descendants of Bhrigu, and a Śātakarṇi ṛishi (sage) is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa.†

The other Purāṇas regarded the Sātavāhanas as of the Andhra nationality (V., Br., Viṣh.), and the Bhāgavata expressly calls the first king of the dynasty (Simuka) without naming him, *Viśhala balī*. The reason for this seems to be either that he was found recorded as *Andhra-jāṭiya* or the name *Śūdrika* or *Śūdraka* was in the place of Simuka. But Śūdrika in the Viracharita is a Brahmin and Śūdraka in the preface of

* Kāṇvāyanām tato bhrityah
 Śuṅgānām chaiva yach
 chhesham kshatapitvā tu
 baliyasah, Śisuko'ndhrah *sajātīyah*.

†In the *Kumārikā khaṇḍa* of the Skanda-Purāṇa, Śūdraka is placed in the list of patriotic kings Vikramāditya, Sātavāhana and Pushyamitra.

the Mṛichehhaḥakaṭika is a Brahmin who performed Aśvamedha, having put his son on the throne.† The ladies' gotra-names Gautamī, Vāsishṭhī, etc., would also indicate the Brahmin caste. The intimate personal knowledge of the Vedic rites claimed by the Queen in the Nānāghāt inscription and herself performing those intricate sacrifices would also indicate this much that the Sātavāhanas had been twice-born, and not non-Aryan as supposed by Bühler and others, who tried to explain away the gotra-names as being names of their Purohita on the analogy of modern practice, which cannot be connected with ancient times on any shred of evidence. The positive evidence of Balaśrī's inscription who describes her son as the unrivalled Brahmin of his age, leaves no room for doubt as to their have been Brahmins.

§73. The Brahmin caste of the Sātavāhanas (*Sātavāhanakula*) was a reason for the national effort against the out-landish Śakas. The Bhavishya Purāṇa (ed. Venkataśvara, p. 36b) says that Vikrama was an incarnation of Pushyamitra.

Early Satavahana or Andhra kings.

§74. The early Andhra kings are :—

Vāyu and Br.	Years.
1. Simuka	23
2. Kṛishṇa (brother of the above) ...	18 or 10.
3. Śrī Śātakarṇi the Great (mahān)	10
4. Śātakarṇi	56
5. Āpolavo or Āpīlavā	12
6. Paṭumāvi	24

On a careful analysis of the Purāṇas it will not be found that they begin the dynasty after the Kāṇvas. The last line closing the Kāṇvāyana chronicle says "*after them the country will go to the Andhras*" (Pargiter, p. 35) that is, the statement leaves the Andhra king unnamed, adding "*having overpowered the Kāṇvāyana Sūsarman and also having overthrown what had been left of the Śuṅgas* [or, the Śuṅgan power (army)]." The last part need not necessarily be read with the next chronicles

which give the history of the foundation of the dynasty : " Of the same caste (as the Kāṇvāyanas and the Śuṅgas) Śīśuka the Andhra will gain this earth. King Śīśuka will reign for 23 years "—' will gain this earth ' means ' will found his kingdom'.

§75. One of the fixed points determined from the inscriptions is that Puḷumāvi succeeded immediately his father Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, and that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was the first king distinguished with an additional description : ' Gautamīputra. ' It is reasonable to suppose that he is Śātakarṇi II of the Purāṇas. Now in the Vāyu list (the Brahmanḍa expressly follows the Vāyu, as it says *Vāyu-prokta* in the colophon of the chapter), we have *Āpolavo* coming in between Śātakarṇi II and *Paṭumāvi* which is undoubtedly *Palumāvi*. *Āpolavo* is spelt in manuscripts as *Ā-pīlavā*, *Ā-pīlako*, *Devilaka* (Vish.), *Chivilaka* (Bh.), *Vivilaka* etc. (Pargiter, p. 39). All these seem to be misreadings and Sanskritization of *Śrī-Polavā*, or *Śrī-Polovī* (or *Śrī-Polavī*), ' o-mātrā being read for ī-mark. *Ā-pīlavā* (combining the spelling ° *lovā*) also suggests *Śrī-vilavā* or *Śrīvilivā* which probably represents the *Vilivāya-kura* of the coins where *kura* stands for *Svāmin* as in *Sivala-kura* of the coins for *Sīva-svāmin* of the Purāṇas (cf. Dravidian *ko* for ' king ' in southern inscriptions)*. In any case Puḷumāvi has been split up in two names *Ā-Polavo* or *Chi-vila(v)* and *Paṭumāvi* or *Pulomāvi* as he is spelt in Matsya manuscripts. And the reign-period of 36 years (Matsya) was split up in 12 (against *Ā-Polavo*) and 24 (against *Paṭumāvi*). It may be noted that some manuscripts of the Matsya do not give *Pulomāvi* at all and only give *Ā-pīlaka*. The two printed editions of Calcutta also omit *Pulomāvi*. Similarly Wilford's copy of the Brahmanḍa had *Ā-pīlaka* with 12 years and ' *āvi* ' with 12 years, not *Paṭumāvi* with 24 years (Rapson, p. LXVI, Hall and Wilson, Vishṇu purāṇa, IV. pp. 201-2). It seems that the Purāṇas in two sets of data had originally alternative names *Pulomāvi* or *Śrī-Vilavā* and the corrupt *Śrī-Pola(mā)vi*. The copyist of one

†A Tamil Scholar (Mr. V. Sundaram) tells me that *kura* may mean a junior king, which if correct will, I think, mean *yuyarāja*.

Purāṇa compared the list with those in the others and inserted both the names in the list he was copying and distributed the original figure 36 into 12 and 24. They had not only Śrī Polā'vi and Paṭumāvi but very probably also *Śrī-vilavā(ga)* or *Śrī-vilivā*.

The three names therefore have to be taken as two, Śātakarṇi II and Śrī Pulomāvi or Śrī Vilivāya Pulomāvi, coming one after the other. The result would be that Mr. Pargiter's list of 31 will be reduced to 30.

Fixed Points in the Satavahana Chronology.

§76. The other fixed point is the order amongst the three-
'kura' kings of the coins :

Vāsishṭhīputra Viḷivāya-kura.

Sivalakura (Māḍharīputra).

Gautamīputra Viḷivāya-kura.

Sivalakura restruck coins of V. Viḷivāya-kura, and Gautamīputra Viḷivāya-kura restruck coins of both Vāsishṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura (Rapson, pp. 7.14.)

§77. Now in the Purāṇic list we have, following the numbering of Rapson and Pargiter:

No. 21. Chakara or Chakora Śātakarṇi.

„ 22. Śiva-svāmin or Śivasvāti.

„ 23. Gautamīputra.

„ 24. Pulomāvi II.

„ 24(a). Śātakarṇi.

„ 25. Śivaśrī.

„ 26. Śivaskanda.

„ 27. Yajña-Śrī.

„ 28. Vijaya.

„ 29. Chandaśrī

„ 30. Pulomāvi III.

Chakora is spelt mostly in the manuscripts as *Chakāra* and *Chakara* (Pargiter, p. 41). Hemachandra gives *Chauravindha* as a synonym of Sātavāhana. *Chakara*, as a Sanskrit restoration of *chaqra*. *Chaura* 'four', is based on *chatara*, taking

it to mean 'four'. I propose to identify him with *Vāsishṭhī-putra Chatarapana Śātakarṇi* of the Nānāghāt inscription. (Lüders, no. 1120). He is called *ch^o vaṭaka* in the Bhāgavata manuscripts. *Chataravata* will equate with *Chatara-pana*. His reign-period is corrupt in the Purāṇas, ranging between 6 months and 6 years (*e* Vāyu). The Purāṇas never give fractions, their reckoning being based on regnal years, they give the least as one year. Chatra-pana reigned for at least 13 years in which year the record is dated at Nānāghāt. Probably the Purāṇa datum was 16, not 6, years originally. Such mistakes account for the difference between the aggregates of the present figures (442) of the Purāṇas with their dynastic total 456 (*see* below § 91.)

The equations may be proposed as follows:—

Vāsishṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura=no. 21, Vāsishṭhīputra Chatarapana.

Sivalakura (Maṭharīputra)=no. 22, Śiva-svāmin.

Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura=no. 23 Gautamīputra.

The late Dr. V. Smith did propose the identification of no. 21 as above in the last edition of his *Early History* (p. 231): "Viḷivāyakura II must be king no. 23, the Gautamīputra of the Purāṇas."

§78. About the order and the names from no. 21 up to no. 30 the Purāṇas are unanimous except the Vāyu and the Brahmanḍa which omit 24—26. The Matsya list should be presumably accepted as fuller. Mr. Pargiter introduces no. 24(a) Śātakarṇi with a reign of 29 years on the evidence of *e* Vāyu. This is supported by a southern manuscript of the Viṣṇu which regards Śātakarṇi Śivaśrī (no. 25) of the other texts as two distinct names (*Śātakarṇiḥ tataḥ Śivaśrī*, against the northern Viṣṇu's *tasyāpi Śātakarṇi Śivaśrī*. There is yet more evidence to support Pargiter's view. Manuscripts of the Matsya describe no. 26 Śivaskanda *Satikarṇāt* 'from Satikarṇi' (*See* Calcutta ed., also Pargiter, p. 42, n 6). This presupposes Satikarṇi before him. Wilford's copy of the Brahmanḍa also gave Satikarṇi with 29 years in the place of

no. 24 with *āvi* (i. e. Pulomāvi) against no. 25. It may be therefore held that the addition of a Śātakarṇi here is sound. Manuscripts of the Matsya describe no. 25 (*Śivasrī*) as son of no. 24 Puloma (*Pulomāttu*) who has been spelt as Pulomāvai (i. e., Pulomāvi a line above) and similarly no. 26 is described as the son of Śātakarṇi [no. 24 (a)]. It seems that the position of no. 24(a) should be no. 25(a) and no. 24(a), as no. 25 the son of 24 will naturally come above 24(a), and 26 should be below his father Śātakarṇi. Hence I would put Śātakarṇi between nos. 25 and 26. Numismatic evidence supports both the existence of this Śātakarṇi and also his position as suggested. Coins of Śātakarṇi found in Chanda district are closely connected with those of Śrī-Yajña Śātakarṇi (Rapson, C.A.D. p. 43). This Yajña Śātakarṇi is the king (no. 27) after Śātakarṇi's son (no. 26).

§ 79. As we shall presently see the interval of time required suits Śātakarṇi no. 25(a) to be a contemporary of Rudradāman. In fact, the possibility of Śātakarṇi II to be the son-in-law of Rudradāman is negatived by his being a Gautamîputra, while Rudradāman's relation was a Vāsishṭhîputra. Prof. Rapson wrongly supposed him to be Pulomāvi. The name in the Kanheri inscription (A. S. W. I., Vol. V., p. 78, Plate 11) reads [*Vā*]sishṭhîputrasya Śrī Sāta karṇ īsyā dev ā[h], and leaves no room to guess any other name. There is only one more Śātakarṇi (no. 14) with one year's reign, who is, as we shall see presently, a repetition; he cannot answer the description, as the marriage-alliance and quarrel and the two wars between Rudradāman and his son-in-law will probably require more than one year, and also for the fact that the Śātakarṇi of one year's rule is placed above Pulomāvi and must have flourished, if at all, in B. C. The only Śātakarṇi left is therefore no. 25 a).

§ 80 No. 29 Chandaśrī has his coins with the legend of *Vāsishṭhîputra Chandra Sātu*. Amongst the known coins we have Rudra (?) Śātakarṇi and Kṛishṇa Śātakarṇi. We have in the Purāṇic list Śvaskanda (no. 16) and Vijaya (no. 28). No. 26 did not have even a year's rule. The *e* Vāyu says merely

that he was a Brahmin ('dvijah yastu'). He belonged to the last days of the dynasty. (For Krishna S. see below § 93).

§81. The relationship of Yajñaśrī (no. 27) with the kings above him is not given, but we know from his coins that he was a *Gautamīputra*, while Chandaśrī (no. 29), according to the Purāṇas, his grand-son, was a *Vāsishṭhīputra*. Śivaśrī (no. 25) was a *Vāsishṭhīputra* and (no. 25) Śātakarṇi was also a *Vāsishṭhīputra*. The situation is therefore that we have —

(25) *Vāsishṭhīputra* Śivaśrī, 7 or 4 years.

(25a) *Vāsishṭhīputra* Śātakarṇi (29 years).

(26) Śivaskanda son of the above, who did not complete even one year.

(27) *Gautamīputra* Yajña Śrī, 9 or 19 years.

(28) Vijaya 6 years.

(29) *Vāsishṭhīputra* Chandra Śrī, 10 or 3 years.

As to 25 and 25(a), it would appear that they were brothers on account of the names of their mother being identical. There is also a text for this view : the Vishnu (Northern) reads: *tasyāḍpi* (i.e. sons of Pulomāvi) *Śātakarṇi, Śivaśrī*.

It is, however, improbable that no. 29 might have also a brother in no. 25.

Although it is not necessary to call in aid here the practice of marrying maternal cousins in that part of the country where these monarchs flourished, but we may not lose sight of it in case a puzzle arises in the light of any future evidence.

ORDER OF THE KINGS.

§82. We have a very important information when the Purāṇas reach Gautamīputra (no. 23). Eleven MSS. of the Vāyu and also an old copy of the Matsya (dated 1729) read:—

Rājā cha Gautamīputra ekaviṃśattamo nṛipah.

The other reading is *viṃśat tato nṛipah*, but in that case the last *nṛipah* becomes redundant, there being *rājā* already in the beginning, while the first reading is perfect. It means that King Gautamīputra was the 21st king. I have shown elsewhere

that although the Vāyu does not give the minor kings, yet it is particular about the number of the kings.* It had especially to give it here, as not only it had omitted some names already, it was also going to omit the next three. There was also some political event which marked off the period with this Gautamîputra. It was probably the second Śaka conquest, as we shall see below. The information that Gautamîputra was the 21st in the line enables us to check the list. At present Gautamîputra is the 23rd. We have already seen that one king in Ā-Pīlava-Paḍumāvi datum is added by mistake. This mistake, apart from the evidence already discussed, the Vāyu helps us by a special datum to detect. After Hāla it says that the above seven kings were very powerful, while its list gives 8 and not 7: one, therefore, was certainly let in by the copyists. This one going out, one more has yet to be detected. This is the Śātakarṇi with one year's reign just before Pulomāvi I and is numbered 14th by Rapson and Pargiter. Between Śātakarṇi II and his son Pulomāvi I, the Matsya interposes 7 kings apart from Āpīlava, as against none in the Vāyu and the Brahmanḍa and only two in the Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata :—

Vāyu and Brahmanḍa.	Matsya.	Vishṇu.	Bhāgavata.
Śātakarṇi II ...	6 Śātakarṇi II	Satakarṇi II	Omitted.
	7 Lambodara	Lambodara ...	Lambodara.
Apolavo ...	8 Āpīlaka ...	Divilaka ...	Chivilaka.
	9 Meghasvāti	Meghasvāti ...	Meghasvāti.
	10 Svāti.		
	11 Skandasvāti.		
	12 Mṛigendra (or Mahendra) svāti.		
	13 Kuntala Śāta- karṇi.		
	14 Svātikarṇa.		

Yāyu and Brahmaṇḍa.	Matsya.	Vishṇu.	Bhāgavata.
Pulomāvi ... 15	Pulomāvi...	Putumān ...	Aṭamān.
We might proceed here up to no. 20 :—			
Nemikṛishṇa 16	Riktavarṇa	Arishtakarman	Ari°.
(or Nishṭa-karma).			
Hāla ... 17	Hāla ...	Hāla ...	Hāleya.
(Omitted in Vāyu) Pattalaka.	18 Maṇḍalaka	Pattalaka ...	Talaka.
Purikasena 19	Purīndra-sena	Pulindra-sena	Purīshabhīru.
(Purī-shabhīru).			
Śātakarṇi, 1 year.	20 Sundara	Śāta-Sundara	Śāta- Sunandana.
karṇi, 1 year. karṇi.			

Thus as to the order of nos. 10 to 14 of the Matsya it is unconfirmed by the other Purāṇas, as they do not know them. The *e* Vāyu MS. which is a re-edited edition based on the Matsya and the Vāyu combinedly, and Wilford's Brahmaṇḍa MS. which was a similar thing based on the Brahmaṇḍa and the Matsya in a combined way, and also some manuscripts of the Matsya itself prove that nos. 10 to 14 were not originally between nos. 9 and 15. Two MSS. of the Matsya, one of which is of the year 1729 A.D., read them after no. 29 i.e., ending them with the last Pulomāvi, instead of with the first Pulomāvi (no. 15.) Another manuscript of the Matsya reads them in both these places (Pargiter, p. 36), while *e* Vāyu reads the whole list thus :

- (11). Skandasvāti.
- (18). Bhā[va]ka.
- (19). Pravilla.
- (20). Sundara.
- (21). Chakora.
- (12). Mahendra.
- (13). Kuntala.

(14). Svātishēpa.

(15). Pulomāvi.

24a } Śātakarṇi

to } to

30 } Pulomāvi (with variations in no. 25 as *Sirasi* and in
no. 28 as *Dviṣa*).

The order in the special copy of the Brahmanḍa of Wilford also supports that the order of the Matsya regarding nos. 12—14, is wrong and that according to it, they should come after no. 21 and before no. 23.

§83. The most reliable order is found only in the Vāyu read with the Brahmanḍa, as that order is verified by coins and inscriptions. One of that verification is that Yjña-Śrī Śātakarṇi (27) should come nearer no. 21 Chatara (I. A., XII, 272)*. This is the order we get in the Vāyu and the Brahmanḍa :

Vāyu.	Br.
1—3	1—3
6—8 (Some MSS. omit no. 8)	6, 8 (7. Lambodara omitted)
15—23 (in some MSS. no. 21 omitted)	15—20 22—23 (no. 21 Chakara omitted)
27—30 (some MSS. omit no. 30.)	27—30.

As Wilford's Br. had no. 7 and no. 21, and as most copies of the Vāyu have nos. 21 and 30, we may accept the authenticity of the Vāyu list, excepting no. 8 which is Āpīlavā. Its omission of no. 8, Āpīlavā, we may well understand as it is an alternative form of Pulomāvi which both the Brahmanḍa and the Vāyu never omit, while the opposite is the case regarding Pulomāvi (I) in the Matsya. The Matsya generally omits him (its no. 15) but always retains Āpīlaka (no. 8). It is thus certain that only one of the two forms were in each set.

*The reading, making Yajña Śrī a son of Chatara is uncertain, if not wrong but their nearness may be presumed independently. Cf. Rapson, C. A. D., p. xli; J. B. A. S., 1905, 798.

§84. A point about Gautamîputra (no. 23) to be noticed is that no years are assigned to him in the majority of the Vāyu MSS. which say that he was the 21st king, while the Matsya seems to identify him with Pulomāvi (no. 24) and give him 28 years. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa give only Gautamîputra, and not Pulomāvi, who is also omitted in the Vāyu and in some manuscripts of the Matsya. It seems certain that the two are to be taken together.

§ 85. From the above analysis we arrive at the following conclusions :—

i. Nos. 23 and 24 (Gautamîputra, Pulomāvi), 28 years, have to be taken together and as the 21st in the list.

ii. Yajña Śrî should be next and Gautamîputra Pulomāvi as the 22nd; that is, from Cha(t)ara the order will be

19th, Chatara Śātakarṇi, (13 years, in inscription).

20th, Śiva-sāti (or ° svāmî), 28 years (unverified).

21st, Gautamîputra Pulomāvi, 28 years (unverified).

22nd, Yajña Śrî, 29 years (in inscription 27 years).

Both the 21st and the 22nd, being Gautamîputras, were presumably brothers. The 23rd would have succeeded at the age of at least 56.

iii. That between Āpilavā and Pulomāvi there were originally no kings, and that the intervening names, i.e., Meghasvāti (no. 9) to Śātakarṇi (no. 14) were misplaced, being taken from a place above which there was a Śātakarṇi. Such a position is no. 20 of Pargiter's list, who is called Śātakarṇi without the addition of any personal name in the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, with one year's reign. The transferred Śātakarṇi (no. 14) is also given by the Matsya one year. As there was originally Śātakarṇi above Pulomāvi, this one year-reign Śātakarṇi and the names above it up to Āpilavā, i. e., the names from 9 to 14 were transposed. This receives confirmation from Wilford's MS. placing 12 to 14 between Chatara Śātakarṇi and Gautamîputra Pulomāvi, i.e., one step below no. 20 Śātakarṇi, who is called Sundara Śātakarṇi by the Matsya. That there was a king called

Sundara Śrī is attested by literature : the *Gāthā-Sapta-satī* contains his verses. His reign-period being one year we do not get any coins of his. There is thus a duplication of Śātakarṇi of one year. Taking out one of these two and Āpilavā, we do get Gautamīputra Pulomāvi as the 21st. It is possible to account for the confusion and transposition : there was a Pulomāvi above Chatara and below Śātakarṇi no. 20 of Pargiter's list. This also suggests that *Pulomāvi* was taken as equal to *Vilivāya*, as Māḍharīputra Śiva restrikes Vāsishṭhīputra Vilivāya's coins. As there is no evidence that Meghasvāti was transposed. And as both the Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata have Śrī Vilaka, and they do not read from 10 to 14, we may take it that the transposed names are from 10 to 14.

iv. Lambodara and Meghasvāti, whom the Matsya, the Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata read between Śātakarṇi II and Āpilaka-Pulomāvi, must go above Śātakarṇi II, as the inscriptions would not admit any intermediary between Śātakarṇi II and Pulomāvi where the Vāyu and the Brahmanḍa also do not read any.

§86. We can on these results fill up the names omitted by the Vāyu and the Brahmanḍa, supplying them from the Matsya in this order :—

Simuka (*alias* Śūdraka ?—Bh.)

Kṛishṇa.

Śrī Śātakarṇi I.

Purnotsaṅga.

Skandastambhi.

Lambodara.

Meghasvāti.

Śātakarṇi II.

Pulomāvi I (*alias* Śrī Vilavā or Śrī Vilivā).

[Śrī] Kṛishṇa* (Gaura-Kṛishṇa), 'the Bad-doer' of some Purāṇas.

**Vikṛishṇa* Mss. of Dr. Hall (Wilson's V. P., IV, p. 200, n.).

Hāla (confirmed by literature).
 Pattalaka (Maṇḍalaka).
 Purikasena (Pravilla-sena).
 Svāti (Sāti).
 Skandasvāti (°sāti).
 Mṛigendra (Mahendra) Śātikarṇa (°i).
 Kuntala Śātakarṇi (confirmed by literature).
 Śātakarṇi (Sundara Śātikarṇi).
 Pulomāvi II.
 Cha[t]ara vaṭu Śātakarṇi.
 Śiva-svāmin (or ° sāti)
 Gautamîputra Pulomavi (III).
 Yajñaśrî Śātakarṇi.
 Śātakarṇi (III).
 Śivaśrî.
 Śivaskanda
 Vijaya (Dvija)
 Chandraśrî Śātakarṇi.
 Pulomāvi IV.

In this scheme Gautamîputra Pulomāvi comes to be the 22nd as against the 21st of the Vāyu. It is probable that Chatara vaṭu Śātakarṇi's position was below Gautamîputra Pulomāvi's, unless the counting did exclude the first king Simuka which is unlikely. His omission in the Brahmanḍa and in many manuscripts of the Vāyu makes it possible to bring him below Gautamîputra Pulomāvi. In view of the fact that he was the father of Yajñaśrî and that re-striking of the coins amongst the three will require a successive order, I will finally place him below G. Pulomāvi.

§87. Now we can take account of the reign-periods.

Taking the 42nd year of Śātakarṇi II at 58 B.C. let us see if the chronology answers the known years of Śātakarṇi I and Rudradāman's date, and the general view for the foundation of the dynasty of Simuka before 200 B.C. (C.H.I., p.530), and Khāravela's date (c.175 B.C.=his 5th year, based on the date of Demetrius, J.B.O.R.S., XIII, 242).

The interval between Simuka and Śātakarṇi I is of 133 years. Śātakarṇi II's reign is 100-44 B.C. The initial year of Simuka will be B.C. 205 and of Śātakarṇi I, 172 B.C., or taking Kṛishṇa's reign as of 18 and not of 10 years, Śātakarṇi I's will be 180 B.C. and that of Simuka 213 B.C.,

Śātakarṇi I was ruling in the 2nd year of Khāravela. The 5th year of Khāravela which is an approximate date of Demetrius' return, is confirmed by the date of Śātakarṇi II which is based on an exact date given by the Jaina chronology. It supports also the view of the historians based on general considerations, and the date of the fall of the Maurya dynasty. It seems that Khāravela challenged Śātakarṇi in the early years of the latter's reign, probably the very first.

We may thus construct the following table and see if it meets other synchronisms.

	Yrs.			
1. Simuka Sātavāhana	23	B.C.	$\frac{205}{213}$ — $\frac{182}{190}$	
2. Kṛishṇa (brother of no. 1) ...	10 or 18	B.C.	$\frac{182}{190}$ — 172	
3. Śātakarṇi I ('the Great')	10	B.C.	172 — 162	
4. Purnotsaṅga ...	18	B.C.	162 — 144	
5. Skandastambhi	18	B.C.	144 — 126	
6. Lambodara ...	18	B.C.	126 — 118	
7. Meghasvāti ...	18	B.C.	118 — 100	
8. (Gaut.) Śātakarṇi II	56	B.C.	100 — 44	
9. (Vās.) (Śrī Vilavāya) Pulo- mavi I.	36	B.C.	44 — 8	
10. [Śrī] Kṛishṇa II ('Gaura Kṛishṇa)†	25	B.C.	8 — 17 A.D.	

*Mt., 18 years.

† Hall's *Mss.* (Wilson, Vishnu IV, p. 200).

11. Hāla	...	...	5 ¹	17	—	21 A.D.
12. Pattalaka	...	...	5	21	—	26 A.D.
13. Purika-sena (Siri or Saka,	21	26	—	47	A.D.	
sena of the insc.)						
14. Svāti (Sāti)	...	...	18 ²	47	—	65 A.D.
15. Skandasvāti	...	...	7	65	—	72 A.D.
16. Mahendra Śātakarṇi	...	...	3	72	—	75 A.D.
17. Kuntala Śātakarṇi	...	...	8	75	—	83 A.D.
18. Sundara (Śātakarṇi)	...	...	1	83	—	84 A.D.
19. (Vās.) Pulomāvi II	...	...	4 ³	84	—	88 A.D.
20. (Māth.) Śiva-svāmin I	...	28	88	—	116	A.D.
21. Gautamīputra Pulomāvi III	28	116	—	144	A.D.	
22. (Vās.) Chatara-vaṭu Śāta-	(13) ⁴	144	—	157	A.D.	
karṇi.						
23. (Gaut.) Yajña-Śrī Śātakarṇi	29	157	—	186	A.D.	
24. Śātakarṇi III	...	29 ⁵	186	—	215	A.D.
25. (Vās.) Śiva Śrī II	7	215	—	222	A.D.	
('from Pulomāvi').						
26. Śivaskanda ('son of	nil	222			A.D.	
Śātakarṇi').						
27. Vijaya	...	...	6	222	—	228 A.D.
28. (Vās.) Chandra-Śrī Śātakarṇi	3 ¹	223	—	231	A.D.	
29. Pulomāvi III	...	...	7	231	—	238 A.D.

Names in coins and inscriptions and in the Purāṇic List.

§88. There being no king resembling 'Rudra'? Śāta-karṇi—a name very doubtfully read in a coin legend and the only name which is doubtfully read on the coins of the dynasty, there does not seem to be any warrant to assume his existence. All other coin and inscriptional names are covered by the Purāṇic list.

¹ V., Br., 1 year.

² Or, 12 years.

³ Wilford's Ms. of Br. ('āvi-4 years).

⁴ From inscription.

⁵ e Vāyu and Wilford's Ms.

¹ V., Br., Willford's Ms. and e Vāyu, 3 years against 10 of the Matsya.

§ 89. We may notice that the Purāṇas make an attempt to distinguish the names occurring a second time, e. g. in my nos. 10, 21, 25 and 26.

§ 90. Pulomāvi III (no. 21) would be a contemporary of Ptolemy. Chatar Śātakarṇi (no. 22) according to the date worked out above would have been the contemporary and son-in-law of Rudradāman. Chatar Śātakarṇi's son Yajñaśrī imitated the coinage of Rudradāman; probably he was a grandson of the Mahākshatrapa.

§ 91. 213 B. C. down to 238 A. D. will give a total of 451 years for the dynasty as against 456 of the Br., Vish. and Bh. This can be adjusted with reference to Chatara's reign which might have extended beyond his inscribed regnal date and which in the Purāṇas probably was originally 16 instead of 6 years, or with reference to the reign of Chandrasrī where I have taken the lower figure, 3 years, against the Matsya's 10, as 3 was attested by the Vā., Br., Wilford's MS. and e Vāyu. We may take that the dynastic total of 456 is correct as against 460 of the Matsya which is a round figure. Taking 16 for Chatara Śātakarṇi (instead of 6) we will get about 454. The difference of two years is due probably to the short reigns of nos. 18 and 26 and fractions generally. It may be noticed that this date of 233 A. D. or 243 A. D. falls just about the conquest of the Western Kshatrapas by the Ābhīra king Išvaradatta in 236-239 A. D. (Rapson, C.A.D., p. CXXXV). He seems to have swallowed up the Sātavāhanas as well, in Western India. Išvaradatta's date indirectly thus confirms the correctness of this scheme of Andhra chronology.

§ 92. If we omit Satakarni III with 29 years whom only e Vāyu and Wilford's Ms. know and whose existence is inferred from the southern Vishṇu, we get the total reduced by 29 years. But this is not admissible as the correct total in the Vāyu was also 456 and not 411 which is an apparent corrupt reading, to be restored into 456 : its line is—

saṃaḥ śatāni chatvāri pañcā

śaḍ vai tathaiva cha.

Now the Purāṇas never express eleven as "5 : 6". The Br. reading is—

° *pañchāśat śat*. (=°50 + 6)

which was the original in the Vāyu. The last date of the Āndhras then will come down to 240 A. D., and the five years' difference should be adjusted by amending Chatara's date and those following him.

§ 93. Purikasena probably represents what we have in an inscription dated in his 8th year as Mātharīputra *Śvāmi Sakasena* or *Siri sena* at Kanheri (A. W. S. I., V, p. 79). *Purika-sena* is a misreading for *Sirika-sena*. The Kharoshthī *Sa* and *pa* can be easily confused. The reading of the inscription, combining Bhagavan Lal and Bühler, may be taken as *Siri-sena* and not *Sakasena*. Kṛishṇa II or *Śrī Kṛishṇa* which I restored from Vi-kṛishṇa of the MSS. where he is described also alternately as Gaura-Kṛishṇa is the Śrī Kṛishṇa (Kaṇha) Śātakarṇi of the coins.

§ 94. *Chatarapana* or the other possible *Chataraphana* (Rapson, p. III) and Hemchandra's *ch°-vindhā* (Persian *vind*) suggests a Śaka title imposed upon Śātakarṇi after his defeat at the hand of his father-in-law.

§ 95. The Gāthā Saptasatī gives *Siri Satti*, evidently a royal author, which may refer to Sakti or Prince Sati of Nānāghāt (Sati śrīmat).

§ 96. The Matsya Purāṇa in its summary of chronology says that there it means only the Paulomas Āndhras, that is, the descendants of Pulomāvi I. That implies a new epoch in the imperial history with reference to the chronology from Parikshit to Nanda and Mahāpadma. One can infer that it was Pulomāvi I who became the Emperor of Magadha (J.B.O.R.S., III, 248). The above dating discussed above putting Pulomāvi I cir. 44 B.C.—8 B.C. does make him see the end of the Kāpivāyanas about 31 B.C.

Puranas and Nahapana.

§ 97. The above study shows that Pulomāvi the first and his father Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi cannot be brought down in the A.D. century.

§ 98. There is a definite piece of evidence in the Purāṇas which dates Nahapāna in the Śuṅga period, which will be in full agreement with the Jaina datum.

In discussing the dynasties of Vidiśā, the provincial capital, they mention four rulers of which the second one was a son or descendant of Nakhavān (*Nakhapāna-jah* in *e Vāyu*), Dharma-varmā or Dhanadharmā (or Vakhampita, *e Vāyu*), and the next name is *Kaṅgara*. Then the next rulers i.e., beyond the fourth—Bhūtinanda and after him Śīsunandi are given with the definite statement ‘*he will be after the end of the Śuṅga dynasty* :’

Bhūtinandas tatas chāpi

Vaidiśe tu bhavishyati

Śuṅganām tu kulasyānte,

Śīsu-nandir bhavishyati.... etc.

There is no doubt that the son or descendant of Nahapāna or Nakhapāna himself, who comes in the Vidiśā list before Vaṅgara, Bhūtinanda and Śīsunandi, is implied to have flourished before the end of the Śuṅga dynasty. Nahapāna did take the Vidiśā territory as evidenced by Rishabhadatta's inscriptions, and the Vidiśā territory had belonged to the Śuṅgas. This evidence dates Nahapāna before the end of the Śuṅgas in 76 B.C. or the latest before 31 B.C. when both the Kāvyas and what was left of the Śuṅgas ended.

New Light on Nahapana.

§ 99. New light is to be gathered from the Jaina sacred literature on Nahapāna. I attach the text in the Appendix (A and A') and summarise the data and the results here.

In the commentary on the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* an old *gāthā* is cited on *dravya-praṇidhi* and explained¹. It says that

¹ The *gāthā* is from the *Niigukti* (c58 B.C.—150 A.D.) The explanation is from the *Chūṛṇi* by Jinadasagani who lived, according to Muni Jinavijaya Suri, in 675 D. A. (V.S. 733). See Appendix A below.

Bharukachchha is known for the religious Professor Jinadeva, monks Bhadantaka and Kuṇāla, *Paṭṭhāna-Sālavāhaṇa* (Śātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna), the lord of (the import of) incense (*guggula*) and *Nahavāṇa* (1304). We are here concerned with Sālavāhaṇa and Nahavāṇa. The Sanskrit commentary on it extracted in the Abhidhāna Rājendra (V, p. 363, see Appendix A below) explains the connexion of *Sālavāhaṇa* and *Nahavāṇa* with *Bharukachchha* (Bharoch) in terms of the Prakrit commentary. Bharukachchha was the capital. Here ruled Nahavāṇa which is Sanskritised as Naravāhaṇa. He had become immensely rich in his treasury. On the other hand at the capital Pratiṣṭhāna there was King Sālavāhaṇa, rich in army. He (called *Hāla* hereafter in Sanskrit) invested Nahavāṇa, but could not succeed and had to go back after a siege of two years. Nahavāṇa on the advice of his new minister, who had deserted Sālavāhaṇa, spent huge sums of money on religious buildings and religious charities. When Sālavāhaṇa again attacked Bharukachchha, his rival's treasury was empty, his capital fell, and Sālavāhaṇa entered it, Nahavāṇa was killed. We thus for the first time know that Bhṛigukachchha was the capital of Nahapāna, and not Ujjain or Daśapura as variously supposed by scholars. Now let us look at the Nasik inscription no. 10 of the Epigraphia Volume VIII Indica, (page 78). Here Ushavadāta mentions, amongst other things, his construction of pious buildings in cities. Here he enumerates the cities in the order of *Bharukachchha*, *Daśapura*, *Govardhana* and *Śorapārāga*. We know from the Purāṇas that the province of Vidiśā was under Nahapāna's son or descendant, who was probably at Daśapura. Govardhana seems to have been under Usabhadāta himself. The reason for giving the place of honour to Bharukachchha is clear. It was their king's capital. The Garga-Saṁhitā mentions that from the valley of the Śiprā the Śakas took away one-fourth of the population and one-fourth of the total wealth to their own capital, *svakaṁ Puram* (J. B. O. R. S., XIV. 408) which was evidently Bharukachchha.

The evidence is unanimous that the Śakas were extremely greedy (Purāṇas: *atilolupāḥ*; see *Garga-Saṁhitā*, *op. cit.*). They evidently amassed great wealth, which is confirmed by the Jaina tradition related above.

§100. The reason given in the Jaina account of the extravagance of Nahavāna's religious expenditure may have the element of the story-teller. But what does come out is that Nahapāna did emulate Śātakarṇi I and Aśoka, and probably thought that it was politic to spend thus in the interest of his dynasty. The large benefactions of his underling Rshabhadatta with his repeatedly proclaiming them in his inscriptions, his giving wives and cows, land and money to Brahmins, feeding a lac of Brahmins every day, had, I think, behind them the same political religiosity.

§101. There is a piece of information in another Jaina sacred text which supports that the Śaka dynasty was founded in *Saurāśṭra* and that before that they belonged to the *Pārasa-kula*.* In the *Bṛhatkalpasūtra* (iv) there is a gāthā which in showing the importance of "gaining friendship" (*sahāya-laddhi*) illustrates it by the example of Kālaga Ajjo. The Prakrit commentary in describing the story says that Kālaga Ajjo went to *Pārāsakula* (*Pārasa-kulam gato*), that in their invasion of India (*Hinduga deśa*) on reaching *Suratṭha*, the *Śaka* dynasty (*saga-vaṁso*) was founded by appointing the Sāhi friend of Kālaga, the *adhivorāyā* (overlord king). That is to say, the Śaka dynasty was founded in the *Saurāśṭra* and not on reaching Ujjain as in the *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka*.

§102. Rājasekhara in his *Prabandha-Kosha* says that both Sātavāhana and Vikramāditya (of 58 B. C.) were contemporaries and that there was another Sātavāhana later (*Mahāvira-Svāmini mosham gate* [470] *varshānantaram* Vikramādityas *tatsamakālina evāyam Sātavāhanah*—cited by Durgāprasada in the *Gāthāsaptasatī*, (page 2). This shows that although two personalities out of one 'killer of the Śakas' were carved

* Appendix B below.

out owing to the popular title of Vikramāditya, yet the fact was remembered correctly as to the time *i.e.*, 58 B. C.

§103. The Kathāsaritśāgara (VI) has preserved the story that Sātavāhana gave the province of Bhārūkachehha to his minister Śarvavarman. The whole story of Sātavāhana starting an era is due to the confusion that the victory in 58 B. C. and the counting of an era from that date was in fact connected with and based on a Sātavāhana.

§104. We find that the Mālayas about Ajmere, that is, the Mālavas, were on terms of hostility with Nahapāna's power. The Uttamabhadras who were Nahapāna's allies or subordinates must be the *Uttamas* of the Mahābhārata who are placed in the company of the Daśarṇas, Bhojas, Sindhu-Pulindakas, Kurūshas and Matsyas (Wilson, V. P. ii, 259) that is amongst the peoples from Sindb, Malwa and Eastern Rajputana. It is natural that the Mālavas should count their independence or re-establishment from that date which was the date of the destruction of the common enemy of theirs and the Sātavāhana, from whom N. Mahārāshṭra had been taken away as the site of the Kṛishṇa Sātavāhana's and Usabhadāta's inscriptions of Nasik prove.

§105. Rules of philology are set at naught by the Sanskrit oom mentator in translating this foreign name of *Nahavāṇa* into *Naravāhana* and *Nabhovāhana*. The Purāṇic writers were not so bad when they turned it into *Nakhavān*.

Identification of the Nanaghāt Statues.

§106. I do not accept the view of Dr. Bühler and Professor Rapson that the Nānāghāt statues of the Sātavāhana family were 'donor-statues.' I regard them as Valhalla figures like the *devakūla* images of the Kushāna kings at Muttra for the following reasons.

The gallery possessed statues of two generations of kings—
(1) *Rāyā Simuko Sātavāhano Sirimāto*, (2) *Devi Nāyanikāya cha Rāño Siri Sātakanino*.* It is not possible that the two generations of kings were present as donors. It is a more likely thing

* Bühler, A. S. W. I., V. 62.

that they were constructed as devakula memorials. The presence of the image of the father-in-law and a feudatory of Śrī Śātakarṇi will be explainable on that ground. Probably it was with the help of that chief's position that the family rose to power, as Simuka seems to have struck no coins. *Sadakana Katalāya Mahārāṭhi* of the coin-legend suggests a joint coinage. The Mahārāṭhi territory was probably inherited by the descendants of Śrī Śātakarṇi. No trace of any Mahārāṭhi as a ruling prince striking coins is found afterwards. That *Sadakanas* is no part of the Mahārāṭhi's name is seen from his name over the statue.

The title *Kumāravara* added to the name of the reigning Prince Vēdi Siri confirms the theory that the reign of a minor king could begin under the guardianship of his mother, but he would be called *rājan* † only when he is crowned and that will be at the age of 24.

Dynasties contemporary with the Andhras.

§107. The Vāyu (ch. 37. 352-358-Bib. Indica ed. = ch. 99. 358-364 Ānandaśrama ed.) and the Brahmaṇḍa (ch. 74. 171-178) say "There will be established five contemporaries of the Andhras and also those sprung from their own family."

'Andhrāṇām saṁsthītāḥ pancha teshām vamsāḥ samāḥ punaḥ (Vāyu).

'Andhrāṇām saṁsthītāḥ pancha teshām vamsyāscha ye punaḥ (Br.).

Taking their own off-shoot, there will be thus 6 contemporaries of the Andhras. Against this the Matsya manuscripts read :

"During the rule of the Andhras there will be in their feudatory lines five established kings", or "their feudatory and other lines"—*ś Mt.* (Pargiter, p. 45) :

'(Andhrāṇām saṁsthītā rājye teshām bhṛityānvayā *nripāḥ*, [or ° saṁsthite rājye, or ° *samsrite*, or ° *bhṛitādyānvayā*)]".

† Rājo after Vēdi Siri is part of his father's name as held by Prof. Rapson.

The reading *bhṛitādya*° 'feudatory and others' is correct; *saṁsthitāḥ* agrees with the Vāyu and Brahmanḍa, and it is found in the majority of the mss. which the printed edition of the Ānandāśrama and Calcutta editions adopt. The Vāyu is definite by its *Vaṁsāḥ samāḥ*. Both the Vāyu and the Brahmanḍa qualify *Vaṁsāḥ* (or *Vaṁsyāḥ*, Br.) with *saṁsthitā*, which cannot mean here 'finished' as it is later on in the closing line (verse 358) that their finishing is described (*tachchhannena kālena*).

The "five" dynasties along with the Āndhra off-shoot mentioned by the Vāyu and the Brahmanḍa are:

(a) 'the 7 ones' against 'the Andhras' of the Matsya, called in verse 355 'Andhras' by Vāyu (that is, their feudatory family),

- (1) the 10 Abhīras,
- (2) the 7 Gardabhins,
- (3) the 10 Śakas ('after Gardabhins'),
- (4) the 8 Yavanas,
- (5) "the 14 Tukhāras, 18 'Murunḍas' and 18 Maunas" (354) (Vāyu, 11 *Yaunas*; Br., 11 *Maunas*).

Thus the fifth dynasty consists of *Tukhāras*, *Murunḍas* and *Yaunas* (read *Yauvas*, see below). The significance of the 'five', missed by Pargiter, is that the ruling name is *Tukhāras* or *Tukhkhāras* as some mss. have it. Under the *Tukhāras* are the *Murunḍas* and *Yaunas* (*Yauvas*). The "*Tukhāras Murunḍas-Yaunas* (*Yauvas*)" of the Purāṇas may be compared with Samudra-gupta's "*Sāhānusāhi-Śaka-Murunḍas*." The *Sāhānusāhi* (with the prefix *Daivaputra-Sāhi*°) stands for the *Tukhāras* of the Purāṇas and his *Śaka*—*Murunḍas* for their *Murunḍas* and *Yau(v)*as.

That these Central Asian, Śakish official titles were current in India is proved from the Purāṇas and Samudragupta's inscription. The Western Satrapal and Kushānas records are practically silent about them. *Jauva* occurs in the Taxila

Copper plate inscription * where the official is subordinate to the Kshatrapa. It seems that under the Tukharas or the Kushānas the title was current and that the Yauvas were actual rulers. The Purāṇic Yau(v)as are a link between the earlier Śaka system and the Kushāna system, they being in both. I have not the least doubt that the *Tukhāras* and the *Muruṇḍas* are identical and have been split up in two. There were two sets of data on which the Purāṇas drew. One had '14 Tukhāras, 105 years' and the other. 13 Muruṇḍas (according to some mss. of the Matsya, 14) : 104½ years. Both the alternative appellations and their years were copied by the Vāyu and the Matsya groups.

To avoid confusion the original (Prakrit) datum seems to have had noted that the years for the Muruṇḍas were *śatāni ardhāni* (or, as some manuscripts have, *śatāni ardhāni*) *chaturthāni* : years $100 + \frac{1}{2} +$ the 4th year. The Vishṇu rightly understood this much that these years were for the whole group : the 14 Tukharas—13 Muruṇḍas—11 Yauvas. It says :

"chaturdaśa Tukhārāḥ Mu(ru)ṇḍas cha trayodaśa, ekādaśa Maunāḥ ; etc., prithivīm trayodaśa, varsha-śatāni nava-navatyadbhikāni bhokshyanti."

The Vishṇu thus makes the Trayodaśa, that is, the Muruṇḍas as the ruling appellation, as the other Purāṇas do in respect of the Tukhāras.

That the *Muruṇḍa*, 'lord', was the royal title is proved by the Zeda inscription of the time of Kanishka, where the term occurs as *Muroḍa* (Konow, pages 143, 145). [For 'gift-lord-dānapati, 'hōra-Muruṇḍaka' see Konow, page 27.]

The Vishṇu author, reading the Yauvas spelt differently in manuscripts of the Purāṇas, mistook them for one more and an independent group and gave it in the next paragraph : 'after them II Pauras as kings for one hundred and three years will rule : " (tataścha Paurā ekādaśa bhūpatayo 'bdaśatāni trīṇi mahīm bhokshyanti" (sec. 13). This proves that as early as the Vishṇu Purāṇa was composed there were two readings of *Yauvā*.

*Konow, page 27.

Probably the Vishṇu gave *Yauvā* here, of which the *Paurā* would be an easy misreading for the manuscript-writers.

The important points which are contributed by the Vishṇu are that Muruṇḍas were the leading group and that the years *satāni pañcha satāni trīṇi*, etc. for the Śakas, Tukhāras, etc. are to be interpreted as suggested above : as 'three hundred' and 'five hundred' years. The Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata give the longest period, 199 years, for the whole group, which is an independent good datum, as we shall see presently.

The 105th year of the Muruṇḍa Tukhāras will fall, counted from 78 A.D., in 183 A.D. which will be about a few (10) years after the death of Vāsudeva. Against this the Vishṇu-Bhāgavata figure '199 years', seems to be based entirely on an independent tradition—a fact also suggested by other data in the same place, e.g., the Vishṇu treating the Muruṇḍas as the chief member and calling the subordinate Andhras as *Andhra-bhṛityas* and the Bhāgavata using the other term *Āva* (or *Ava*), *bhṛityāḥ* where *Āva* as a name for the Andhran people is confirmed by Ptolemy and the Hathīgumphā inscription (C.A.G., p. 539, J.B.O.R.S., XIV.450). It seems, there were two traditions or views, one giving them 105 years and the other 199 years. Commencing from the time of Kadphises II (W'ima) the other one will bring them to about 240 A.D. i.e., the period they gave to the close of the Andhra dynasty. In that, 13 kings will be the first 6 imperial Kushānas and 7 princes after the disruption of the Empire at the death of Vāsudeva into several princedoms. It may be noticed here that Samudragupta found several Śaka-Muruṇḍas, more than at least two Śaka-lords' (the term there is in the plural). About the number, the Bhāgavata has in its every ms. 10 as against 13 of the others. By their last line the Purāṇas mean to register the disruption of the rule of the Tukhāra group at the close of the period, which with reference to the other dates of the contemporary dynasties falls about 243 A.D. or 247 A.D.

Appendix A.

Extract from

श्रीमद्भद्रबाहुस्वामि-प्रणीत-निर्युक्ति-युक्त-भाष्यकालत-श्रीमद्भरि-
भद्रसूरिशेखर-सूत्रितवृत्तिपरिवृतं ।

श्रीमदावश्यकसूत्रस्योत्तराध' (पूर्वभागः)

IV. 18—(ed. Āgamodaya-samiti, S. 1973, folios 712—713) :—

संवेगति गयं, इयाणिं पणिहिति, पणिही ।

नाम माया, सा दुविहा—द्वपणिही य भाव-

पणिही य, द्वपणिहीप उदाहरणगाहा—

भरुयच्छे जिणदेवो भयंतमिच्छे कुलाणभिक्षू य ।

पइठाण सालवाहन गुग्गुलभगवं च णह्वणं ॥१३०४॥

व्याख्या कथानकादवसेया, तच्चेदं—भरुयच्छे णयरे नहवाहणो
राया कीससमिद्धो, इधो य पइठाणे सालवाहणो राया बलसमिद्धो,
सो नहवाहणं रोहेइ, सो कोससमिद्धो जो इत्थं वा सीसं वा आणेइ
तस्स सयसहस्रगं वित्तं देइ, ताहे तेण नहवाहणमणूसा दिवे २
मारंति, सालवाहणमणुस्सावि केवि मारंत्ता आणेति, सो तेसिं
न किंचि देइ, सो खीणजणी पडिजाइ, नासित्ता पुणोवि
वितियवरिसे एइ, तत्थवि तहेव नासइ, एवं कालो वच्चइ, अणण्या
अमच्चो भणइ—ममं अचराहेत्ता निव्विसयं आणवेह माणुसगाणि
य बंधाहि, तेण तहेव कयं, सोवि निगंतूण गुग्गुलभारं गहाय
भरुयच्छमागमो, एगत्थ देवडले अच्छइ, सामंतरज्जेसु फुटं—

¹The Nirukti to the Āvaśyakasūtra is dated by the Jaina scholar, my friend, Muni Jinavijaya, c. 58 B.C.—150 A.D., the Chūṇi in the 9th century and the Bhāṣya in the 5th—6th century. The time of Haribhadra given by him is the 9th century.

सालवाहणेणं अमच्चो निच्छूढो, भरुयच्छेणाओ, केणति पुच्छिओ
 को सोत्ति, भणइ—गुग्गुलभगवं नाम अहंति, जेहिंणाओ ताण कहेइ
 जेण विहाणेण निच्छूढो, अहालहु से गणत्ति, पच्छा नहवाहणेण
 सुयं, मणुस्सा विसज्जिया नेच्छइ कुमारामच्चत्तणस्स गंधं पि सोढं,
 सो य राया सयं आगओ, ठविओ अमच्चो, वीसंभं जाणिऊण
 भणइ-पुण्णेण रज्जं लब्भइ, पुणोवि अण्णस्स जम्भस्स पत्ययणं
 करेहि, ताहे देवकुलाणि थूभतलागवावीणखणावणादिण्हिं दव्वं
 खइयं, सालवाहणो आवाहिओ, पुणोवि ताविज्जइ, अमच्चं भणइ—
 तुमं पंडिओत्ति, सो भणइ—घडामि अंतैरियाणो आभरणेणंति,
 पुनो गओ पडट्टाणंति, पच्छा पुणो संतैरिओणिव्वाहेइ, तस्मि णिट्ठिये
 सालवाहणो आवाहिओ, नत्थि दायव्वं, सो विणट्ठो, नट्टं नयरं पि
 गहियं, एसा दव्वपणिही भावपणिहीए उदाहरणं—भरुयच्छे
 जिणदेवो नाम आयरिओ, भदंतमित्तो कुणालो य तच्चणिण्या दोवि
 भायरो वाई, तेहिं पडहओ निक्कालिओ, जिणदेवो चैइयवंदगो
 गओ सुणेइ, वारिओ, राउलेवादो जाओ, पराजिया दोवि, पच्छा ते
 विचिंतेइ—विणा एएसिं सिद्धंतेण न तीरइ एएसिं उत्तरं दाढं,
 पच्छा माइठाणेण ताण मूलै पव्वइया, विभासा गोविन्दवत् पच्छा
 पढंताण उवगयं, भावओ पडिवन्ना साइ जाया, एसा भावपणि-
 हित्ति । पणिहित्ति गयं ॥ १८ ॥

Appendix A.

See on the same the Abhidhana Rajendra (sub pranadhi)
 Volume V. 383.

व्यवस्थापने, उत्त० २३ अ० । मायायाम्, सा च द्विधा—
 द्रव्यप्रणिधिः भावप्रणिधिश्च । तत्र द्रव्यप्रणिधौ उदाहरणम्—

भरुयच्छे जिणदेवो, भयंतमित्तो कुणालभिक्षू अ ।

पडट्टाण सालवाहण, गुग्गुल भगवं च नहवाणे ॥ २०३ ॥

भरुकच्छपुरेऽत्राऽसौदृभूपतिर्नरवाहनः ।
 स समृद्धाऽऽत्मकोशस्य श्रीमदप्यवमन्यते ॥ १ ॥
 इतः प्रतिष्ठानपुरे पार्थिवः शालवाहनः
 बलेनापि समृद्धः स रुरोध नरवाहनम् ॥ २ ॥
 आनयत्यरिशीर्षाणि यस्तस्याऽऽदान्महर्षिकः ।
 क्षत्तं विपक्षं तत्तस्य नित्यं निग्नन्ति तद्भटाः ॥ ३ ॥
 हा तस्यापि भटाः केऽप्याऽऽनिन्युः सोऽदान्न किञ्चन ।
 सोऽथ क्षीणजनो नष्ट्वा पुनरेति समांतरे ॥ ४ ॥
 पुनर्नष्ट्वा तथैवेति नाभूत्तद्गृहणक्षमः ।
 अथैको मायया हालं सचिवो निरवास्यत ॥ ५ ॥
 स परंपरयाऽज्ञासीद्भरुकच्छनराधिपः ।
 अपास्तोऽल्पापराधोऽपि निजामात्यस्ततः कृतः ॥ ६ ॥
 ज्ञात्वा विश्वस्तं सोऽवकतं राज्यं पुण्येन लभ्यते ।
 तदन्यस्य भवस्यार्थं पाथेयं कुरु पार्थिव ! ॥ ७ ॥
 धर्मस्थानविधानाद्यैर्द्रव्यमप्याययत्ततः ।
 आगान्मन्त्रिगिरा हालः पार्थिवोऽथाऽऽह मन्त्रिणम् ॥ ८ ॥
 मिलितोऽसि किमस्य त्वं सोऽवदन्न मिलाम्यहम् ।
 अथान्तः पुरभूषादि-द्रविणैस्तं तदाऽक्षिपत् ॥ ९ ॥
 हालेऽथ पुनरायाते निर्द्रव्यत्वान्ननाश सः ।
 नगरं जगृहे हालो द्रव्यप्रणधिरेषिका ॥ १० ॥
 आचार्यो जिन देवोऽभूदत्रैव भृगुपत्तने ।
 वादिनौ भ्रातरौ भिक्षू भदन्तककुणालकौ ॥ ११ ॥
 वादितः पटहस्ताभ्यां जिनदेवगुरुस्तदा ।
 गतोऽभूद्वन्दितुं चैत्यं श्रुत्वा तेन स वारितः ॥ १२ ॥
 जातो राजकुले वादस्तौ द्वावपि विनिर्जितौ ।
 दध्यतुस्तावमीषां न सिद्धान्तावगमं विना ॥ १३ ॥
 उत्तरं शक्यते दातुं शाठ्याद्भोविन्दवत्ततः ।

व्रतं जगृहतुः पश्चात्पठतां भावतोऽभवत् ॥ १४ ॥
 आक० ४ अ० । आ० चू० । आव० मायाश्ल्ये, तत्र कार्य-
 मिति योगसंग्रहत्वमस्य । स० ३२ सम० दश० ॥

Appendix B.

GATHA.

विज्जाभोरस्तबलौ, तेयसलद्धी सहायलद्धी वा ।

उप्पादेउं सासति, अतिपंतं कालगज्जो व्व ॥

* * * * *

ईदृशोऽधिकरणमुत्पाद्यातिप्रान्तमतीवप्रवचनप्रत्यनीकं शास्त्रि,
 कालिकाचार्यं इव । यथा कालिकाचार्यो गर्दभिल्ल-
 राजानं शासितवान् ।

(Bṛihatkalpavṛitti with Bhāhya, 4th Uddeśa).

कथानकं चेत्यम् ।

* * * * *

एवं भामिउ सो कालगज्जो पारसकुलं गतो, तस्य एणो साढि
 त्ति राया भणति, तं समल्लीणा णिमित्तादिण्ढिं ढियं आउट्टेति,
 अणया तस्स साढाणुसाहिणा परमसामिणा कम्हि विकारणे भट्टेण
 कठारिणा सहेउं पेसिया, सोसं बिंदाढि त्ति । तं आकोप्पमाणं
 आयातं पेच्छिऊण सो ये विमणो संजातो, अण्णाणं मारिउं
 ववसिओ । ताहे कालगज्जेण भणितोमा अण्णाणं मारेहि ।
 साढिणा भणियं—परमसामिणा रुट्टेण एय अत्थिउं ण तोरइ ।
 कालगज्जेण भणियं—एहि हिंदुगदेसं वच्चामी । रण्णा
 वमिसुयं । तत्तुल्लाण य एण्णेसिं पि पंचाण उंतीए । साढिणा
 सुअं, केय कठारियाओ सहेउ पेसियाओ । तेण पुव्विल्लेण डूया
 पेसिया, मा अण्णाणं मारेढ । एढि वच्चामी हिंदुगदेसं । ते
 उन्नमी पि सुरठमागया, कालो य एवपाउसो वट्टइ । तारिसे काले

ए तीरद गंतुं तस्य मंडलाद् कया वि विभक्तिऊणं जं काल
गज्जो समत्तीणो सो तस्य अधिवो राया ठवितो, ताहे सगवंसो
उप्पणो, वत्ते य वरिसाकाले कालगज्जे ण भणिच्चो—गहम्मिन्नं
रायाणं रोदेमो, ताहे लामा रायाणो ये गहम्मिन्नेण अवमाणिता ते
मेत्तिआ अण्णे य, ततो उज्जेणी रोदिता ।

* * * * *

(Nisītha-sūtra with Chūrpi, 10th Uddeśā.)

Cited in the Abhidhāna-Rājendra, Vol. I, p. 582.

The last Kanvayana and his Satavahana Conqueror.

§ 108-A. The Purāṇic datum that *Susarmā* was the last king of the Kāṇvas is confirmed by the story in the beginning of the Kathāsaritsāgara. He flourished some time before the Sātavāhana king who was the contemporary of Guṇādhya. The period from 58 B.C. up to 78 A.D. was the golden epoch of the Sātavāhanas. They attained the imperial position both for the Dakṣiṇāpatha and the North where they succeeded to the proud throne of the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas. During that epoch literature flourished under them. Poets and literati flocked to the court of Pratishthāna, where more than one Emperor took part himself in literary compositions. Hāla who according to the Purāṇic chronology (see above) lived about 17—21 A.D., has made himself famous by his patronage of Prakrit poetry. Authors in vernacular resorted to the Sātavāhana capital from every part of the country including the Paisācī area, one of whom was Guṇādhya, the charming writer and the probable inventor of stories within stories. According to Guṇādhya, as translated in the Kathā-Ss., at Pratishthāna, the Sātavāhana capital, King *Susarmā* had to give his daughter in marriage to a Brahmin favourite of the Sātavāhana king and to bequeath his throne to the issue of this marriage (chapter 7). Evidently King *Susarman* was a prisoner at Pratishthāna. To Pāṭaliputra

which was then evidently under the imperial sway of the Sātavāhana, the Brahmin who married the princess had gone to study. It seems the Sātavāhanas specialized in political marriages. They married a Brahmin to the daughter of the deposed Suśarman, they married into the Kalinga family (see below §112 ff.), they married into the family of Rudradāman, all with the object of political power and aggrandisement. And each step bore fruit. The fall of Suśarman falls in the reign of Pulumāvi I (see above §87).

**Identification of Gunadhya's and Somadeva's
Vikramaditya and the Salavahana of 78 A. D.**

§109. Unexpected light is thrown by Somadeva through his story of the Vikramāditya. The story shows that his Vikramāditya led a campaign himself and through his commander-in-chief won a great battle. He married a number of beautiful ladies from different parts of the country. He was a Sātavāhana. His commander-in-chief, a feudatory king, *Vikrama-Śakti*, was very successful in his campaigns. The name of the father of this Vikramāditya was *Mahendrāditya* who is the *Mahendra Śātakarṇi* of our Āndhra list and is placed above *Kuntala Śātakarṇi*. That the Vikramāditya of Somadeva was really *Kuntala* is proved by his favourite and Chief Queen's name given by Somadeva as *Malayavatī* who had come from Malaya-deśa. We know from the *Kāmasūtra* (which describes the practices of the Ābhīra kings and is quoted by Kālidāsa, and is therefore a work of the third century of the Christian era) that *Kuntala Śātakarṇi*'s Chief Queen was *Malayavatī* who died tragically in his embrace. Now the whole book of *Guṇādhya* was written in his praise, where *Guṇādhya* is seen at his best employing most beautiful figures of speech. It seems to me that he was his contemporary. It is the last story of the book and does not mention the death of *Malayavatī*. According to the dates formulated above (§87) *Kuntala* lived c. 75-83 A. D. and therefore was the victor who is called the Sātavāhana of 78 A. D. and is regarded to have defeated the Śakas in his

time—185 years after the Vikramāditya of 58 B. C. It becomes important to see what conquests of his are mentioned by Somadeva and what story he gives of the king.

§110. Bk. XVIII, gives us that Hindu gods were troubled by the Mlechchhas who were destroying Hindu civilization; they approached Śiva to send out a strong man to suppress the Mlechchhas: "*The Mlechchhas slay Brahmins, they interfere with the sacrifices and other ceremonies, and they carry off the daughters of hermits, indeed, what crime do not the villains commit?*" This may be taken as the real feeling of the Hindus of the time. As the result of the appeal, there was born to Mahendrāditya and Sauryamdarśanā a son Vishamaśīla. He was the father of all the fatherless, the friend of all the friendless, and the protector of all the unprotected among his subjects. His pure glory lent material to the Creator to give purity (whiteness) to the White Sea and to the Home of Snow (the Himalayas).

Vikrama-śakti, who is mentioned without the title 'king' by the usher, is respectfully alluded to with that title by the Vikramāditya (who is to be known hereafter thus and not by his infant name Vishamaśīla). "Is it well with King Vikrama-śakti, the general of my forces?" His victories are announced: "Your Majesty has conquered the Deccan (Dakṣiṇāpāṭha) along with the Western Border (Aparānta) the Middle Country (Madhyadeśa) with Saurāshṭra, in the east, Vaṅga with Aṅga,* and in the north the northern Kāśṭhā with Kashmir has been made tributary. The hosts of the Mlechchhas have been slain, and the others reduced to submission". Those princes came to the capital and a procession was pageanted in the thoroughfares of Ujjayinī led by the Vikramāditya to celebrate the destruction of the Mlechchhas. The Mlechchhas were, evidently, the Śakas of Kanishka's time. It may be noticed that the conquest do not reach much beyond Magadha (the eastern part of the Gangetic valley). Nor is the Punjab mentioned. The King of Kashmir has become a

* Ed. Durgāprasāda, Ch. 120 (77-78).

subordinate ally, who would have found in the Sātavāhana a natural friend against the common enemy the Kushānas.

§ 111. One of the Queens of the Vikramāditya, the Sindhala Queen is thus described : " Well, the Creator is never tired of producing marvels, even after creating Tilottamā, as he has produced this lady handsomer ".

§ 112. The conquered foes and the tributaries who came to the celebration at Ujjayinī were the prince of Gauḍa, the king of Kārṇāṭaka, the Kings of Lāṭa, Kashmir, Sindh, Vindhya-bala the Bhilla, and a king of the Pārāsīkas. Their names are given as Saktikumāra, Jayadhvaja, Vijayavarman, Sunandana, Gopāla (Vindhya-bala) and Nirmūka. Later on the king of Kalinga called *Kalīngasena* who was the king of the Śavaras and Bhillas was forced to own his suzerainty and give his beautiful daughter in marriage to the Vikramāditya. This marriage is the last fact of the royal biography. The whole story is to please his rival queens, painting his equal love for every one of them. King Vikramāditya enjoyed the empire in partnership with Malayavatī and others and lived for a whole *kalpa*. The praise which the bard recited in the morning every day is beautiful woven in the story and is textually cited : "*Hail ! thou that with the flame of thy valour hast consumed the forest of the army of the Asuras and the Mlechchhas..... Hail ! Vishama-sīla, Hail ! Vikramāditya, Ocean of Valour !*"

It seems to me that it is a romance written for a contemporary king on his own biography.

§ 113. Kalīngasena's minister is called *Ekāki-kesarin*. Khāravela's romance in Orissa* has preserved the name of his minister who was a *Kara*.† The *Kara* dynasty of the later centuries of Orissa has been now definitely identified with the *Kesarins* of Orissa. In the present story we get the same title Kesarin in Ekāki-Kesarin.

* *Sāralā-Mahā-bhārata*

† J. B. O. R. S., XVI, p. 199. The description that the *Vrachakravartī Kālavera* built his army by capturing and training wild elephants of Orissa is fully borne out by the Hāthīgumphā insc. I. (*hathinavana parisaram*, etc., the revised reading which is being published in the *DI.*)

§114. It was Vishamaśīla Kuntala who was probably the first to be called Vikramāditya, and the title was probably then transferred to the earlier Sātavāhana who had more effectively suppressed the Śakas.

§115. The story of marriages illustrates the system of the Sātavāhanas in regard to their political marriages. All the three queen of Kuntala were from the South—Ceylon, Malaya, and Kalinga. The last one which is the theme of the art of Guṇādhya was very important. Without the Kalingan help the march to Gauda and the Ganges valley was not possible. Kuntala put an end to the strife of generations between Kalinga and his house by this marriage. It was essential to have the state just behind him as a friend and by marriage it became almost necessarily a friend.

§116. The romance was written to please and reconcile Queen Kalingasenā in particular who had been brought by the general of her husband almost at the point of the sword. And she is said to have resented this treatment. The lesson of the story is: "So you see, King, honourable matrons are devoted to their husbands". This is the last lesson of Guṇādhya, the court poet, who became a titular minister of the Sātavāhana according to the preface of the book. He and his contemporaries seem to have invented the title Vikramāditya for their master.

§117. Guṇādhya was introduced to the court by *Sarva-varman* who was the Governor of Bharukachehha and was himself interested in literature, having composed the Kātantra Grammar. It is curious that in the prefatory portion the Sātavāhana patron is described as having been ignorant of Grammar. The portion seems to be later. Therein the king is called Sātavāhana and is described in his true colours. He was uncultivated enough to misunderstand his queen's refined language. This queen is called Malayavatī by later writers (see quotation in Peterson's Third Report, p. 349).

Sarva-varman's governorship must refer to a period before Chashtana.

§118. The system of naming adopted by the Purāṇic historians is explained by this instance. Current popular designations were adopted. *Vishama-sīla* was the real name ; *Vikramāditya* a title of honour ; and *Kuntala*, after the country* he conquered or re-conquered. The populace called him Kuntala which is evidenced by the Kāmasūtra.

§119. The battle described in the Kathāsaritsāgara seems to have taken place in Gujrat where the kings of Lāṭa and Sindh and Kashmir and a Pārasīka (probably a Kushāna chief of Persian origin, *Nimuka*) could easily meet, and then brought to Ujjayinī.

§120. The names connected with the biography of this Vikramāditya seem to be historical. *Kalīṅgasena* has its counterpart in the *osena* ending names of the Kālīṅga kings cited in the Harshacharita (*Bhādrasena* and *Vīrasena*) *Vijayarman* of Lāṭa (ch. 121, ch. 120-76) is probably *Jaya-dāman*, *dāman* (Persian), 'clothes', being translated into 'Varman'.

§121. The story that the goblins fought for the king was a contemporary belief or style : a similar instance is found in Balasrī's inscription about her son's conquests wherein she says that her son was helped in the front of his army by Yakshas and goblins. Guṇādhya could flatter his patron and please his wives by similar allegations.

§122. The conquest of Lāṭa and Saurāshtra from Vijayarman or Jayadhvaḥ would place the victory in the beginning of the Kushāna period, c. 78 A.D., as about 106 A.D. the Kushāna power was fully established at Sanchi near Ujjain,† and Kuntala Śātakarṇi's time is 75 A.D.—83 A.D. (§ 87). Ptolemy who wrote between 104 and 147 A.D. (Dubreuil) heard Chashtana ruling at Ujjain. Vijaya or Jaya or both, if they were separate, were paraded through the streets of Ujjain, but were sent back home on submission. Vijayarman probably agreed to become a Sātavahana governor for

* For the extent of the Kuntala country—from Dvārakā to Kāmagiri—see Durgaprasāda, *Gāthā*- S, p. 1.

† See above §14 J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 118.

the time being. The defeat of the Śakas at the hands of the Sātavāhana thus falls about 78 A.D. (before 83 A.D. and after 75 A.D.) This now explains for the first time the puzzling Hindu tradition that as in 58 B.C. Vikramāditya won a signal victory over the Śakas, and the year 58 B.C. marked an era for that reason, and similarly the year 78 A.D. is the year of the victory of king Śālavāhana, a grandson of Vikramāditya of 58 B.C., over the Śakas again and the era is counted from that event. On the other hand, we have the definite statement of the Jaina tradition and historical evidence in its favour that the Śaka Era was started by a Śaka king. Both traditions are true. Year 78 A.D. was the beginning of the Śaka Era and was also the year of the second Śaka defeat in Western India at the hands of the Śālavāhana, who was in fact a descendant of the first victor of the Śakas, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

§123. The origin of the nomenclature which has been current amongst the Hindu astronomers and amongst the Hindus generally—*Śāke Śālavāhanīye*: “in the *Śālavāhanīya Śāka* year”—was originally adopted, it seems, to distinguish the Era of the year 78 A.D., as marking both the foundation of a Śaka reckoning system and the victory of the Śālavāhana king over the Śakas, to distinguish the Era from the former Śaka Era (of 123 B.C.).

Course of events after 83 A.D.

§124. After Kuntala the Vikramāditya, that is after 83 A.D., we find the first traces of the Kushāna power in Western India, in the inscription at Sanchi dated in the 28th year of Vaseshka, the successor of Kanishka the founder of the Era which ran from the first year of his reign (78 A.D.). Of Kanishka himself we find nothing there. This is a confirmation of the Hindu tradition of the defeat of the Śakas in 78 A.D. by the Sātavāhana. In or about the year 28-106 A.D. the Kushānas get established or re-established there. Ptolemy between 104 and 147 A.D. heard of Chastāna being at Ujjain. This long period is reduced by two facts. Rudradāman became *rājān* and *Mahākshatrapa* by an election, his family having had lost

the territory. The loss must have occurred before 130 A.D., the date at Andhau under Rudradāman's reign. Ptolemy mentions also Puḷumāvi who would have been Puḷomāvi III of the Purāṇas, 116-144 A.D. We may, therefore, take Ptolemy's information to refer to about 116 A.D. when both Chashtāna and Puḷumāvi were respectively at Ujjain and Pratishtāna. We thus find a continuous struggle beginning again about 100 A.D. and ending about 130 A.D. Chashtāna, defeated about 78 A.D., re-established himself about 106 A.D. which falls in the reign of Śivasvāmī or Sivalakura, but in the next reign of the Sātavāhana Puḷumāvi III (116—144 A.D.) there was almost a total dislodgment of the Śaka Satrapal family; Chashtāna's son Jayadāman never came to be Mahākshatrapa. Then under the same reign Rudradāman is allowed to be Kshatrapa, probably in Kaachchha, and the matrimonial alliance between his daughter and Puḷumāvi's son probably is to be dated in that reign and about 130 A.D. In or about 150 A.D. after Puḷumāvi's death and in the reign of his son-in-law (acc. 144 A.D.) Rudradāman becomes independent.

§125. The recovery of Saurāshṭra and Lāṭa by Rudradāman presupposes their loss. The marriage of Rudradāman's daughter to Chatara Śātakarṇi is also its evidence. The list of what Rudradāman himself acquired shows that there was hardly any thing left to him during the previous Sātavāhana's reign, and that he had been merely a Sātavāhana Kshatrapa. After the death of Puḷumāvi (III) in 144 A.D., with the consent of the people, on taking a solemn oath never to take human life except in a battle, "*up to the last breath of his life,*" that is, on the distinct condition to give up Sakish ways hated by the Hindus as expressed in the cited portion above (§110), he assumed the title of *Rājan* and *Mahākshatrapa*. His two wars with Chatara Śātakarṇi, his son-in-law, who came to throne in 144 and probably reigned for 16 years, i.e., till 160 A.D. would be dated between 144 and 150 A.D. (Junagarh insc.). Śātakarṇi resented the assumption of full sovereignty by his vassal and father-in-law

and the two wars followed. The second one decided the issue and he himself became a subordinate, a Chatarapana (a *Kshatrapāvan* ?)—a position shook off by the next king Yajña-Śrī who recovered the lost ground for his dynasty. The struggle thus was continuous from Kuntala (75—83 A.D.) to Yajña-Śrī (157—186 A.D.).

§126. Rudradāmana died some time after 150 A.D. and before 178 A.D. (*Jivadāmana*). In between the two dates there were Dāmajada I and Satyadāmana. He died probably about 150 A.D. There was a dispute amongst his immediate successors creating a blank from 150 to 178 A.D. in dates, and dated coins which begin from 178 A.D. prove that the dispute lasted up to Rudrasimha I's accession, about 180 A.D. This state of affairs might or might not have been caused by Yajña-Śrī's intervention, but it is certain that he took advantage of the situation in reasserting the superior position of his dynasty. These were the last days of the Kushānas, and Yajña-Śrī, from Chinna in the Andhra-deśa up to Gujarat, seemed to have revived the old glories of the dynasty once more.

§127. After Kuntala (c. 84 A.D.) up to Puṣumāvi III (116—144 A.D.) which coincides with the period of Chashtāna's reasserted position and Kushāna power at Sanchi, we find troubled times amongst the Sātavāhna's. Sundara, following Kuntala, ruled only for 1 year (83-84 A.D.) which may be accidental. Puṣumāvi II ruled only for 4 years and his coins were re-struck by Sivala, the next king (88—116 A.D.), as if he had succeeded by force an enemy. The troubles certainly begin from 88 A.D., the last date of Puṣumāvi II. Chashtāna would have taken advantage of this, and he regained his position during the reign of Śiva-svāmin (88—116 A.D.). With Puṣumāvi III (*Gautamī-putra*, 116—144 A.D.) disintegration stopped, and full revival took place. Puṣumāvi III by striking the coins of both Puṣumāvi II and Sivala was showing contempt for both these previous kings, and was, so to say, obliterating their names from the dynastic list.

§128. These two troubled periods in the Sātavahana and Satrap families disclosed by coins support the chronology determined above.

The chronology proposed above (§87) thus gets full corroboration from the Satrapal history.

Identification of the Dynasties contemporary with the Andhras.

§128. The Purāṇas after closing the Āndhras give the dynasties which arose while the Āndhras were still ruling (*Andhrāṇām samsthite rājye**). These dynasties are :—

- (1) the *Andhrabhṛityas*, feudatories sprung from their own family, as expressly mentioned, (7 members), (52 years),
- (2) the *Abhīras* (10 or 7 members) (67 years),
- (3) the *Gardabhins* or *Gardabhilas* (7 members),
- (4) the *Śakas* (16 or 18 members) (183 years),
- (5) the *Yavanas* (18 members) (87 or 82 years),
- (6) the *Tukhāras*, (14) (105 years),
- (6a) the *Muruṇḍas*, (13 or 10) (104½ or 200 years),
- (6b) the *Maunas* or *Yaunas* or *Pauras* (11 or 18) (103 or 199 years).

It is plain that nos. 6 and 6(a) are identical in number of years and nearly in that of members : they are only two names for the same dynasty. The Matsya gives a total of the years of (4), 6(a) and 6(b) to the Tukhāras, thereby implying that the Śakas, the Muruṇḍas and the Yaunas came under the Tukhāra* dynasty. The Vāyu says 'the Muruṇḍas will rule with other Mlechchhas' and that out of those (other) Mlechchhas 'the 11 will have 103 years.' It is thus impliedly stated that nos. 6 to 6(b) have the same period and that the Tukhāras were the leading group.

* Pargiter's translation, 'When the kingdom of the Andhras has come to an end' (p. 72), is entirely wrong here in view of the context.

¹ Reading the figures wrongly, as 300 for the Sakas (*trīṣi cha tatāḥ*, Pargiter's *ō Mt.*, PT. p. 46, n. 50), 400½ for the Muruṇḍas, and 300 for the Maunas, it gives a total of 1007 years to the Tukhāras.

§129. The *Muruṇḍas* and the *Tukhāras* are what we call *Kushānas*.

§130. The 'Maunā' of the Matsya is generally spelt as 'Yaunā' in *e* Vāyu and as *Janā* in a MS. of the Matsya itself.² The Bhāgavata and the Vishṇu read it as *Maunā* and *Paurā*. The Matsya only in one place reads *Hūnā* but when it recurs for reign-period it is in every MS. *Maunā*, while in the former place one MS. has *Janā* which is nearer *e* Vāyu's *Yaunā*. *Hūnā* is to be rejected. The Hūnas did not rise to power in India in the time of the Andhras. The reading *Yaunā*, or *Maunā* are the only forms to be considered. *Yuanā* seems to be the result of mislexion of *Yauvā* which is possible in the 7th or 8th century script. The Vishṇu's *Paurā* confirms this view: *va* will be easily read as *ra* especially when *va* gave no meaning. It would be then a Kushāna title like the *Muruṇḍa* (see §137 ff.). In any way, they are subordinate to no. 6 in the Purāṇas.

§131. We know from inscriptions and coins that all these dynasties (1), (2), (4), (5) and (6) did arise during the Āndhra period (213 B. C.—243 A. D.). The Purāṇic statement is correct.

Their Reign-Periods.

§132. The Vāyu and the Brahmanḍa give no period to the Śaka rule but we have 183 from others. This answers the Śaka period with reference to the Āndhra chronology, i.e., the period before Śatakarṇi II and Puṣumāvi and the later or the second period after 78 A. D., which works out thus:

42 or 44 years before Śatakarṇi II,

and about 139 years after 78 A. D.—100 A. D. (§ 124)

which will nearly bring us to about the end of the Andhra period (100 A. D. + 139) 239 A.D., i.e., up to the time of Mahākshatrapa Dāmasena (236 A. D.) and Kshatrapa Vīradāman (238 A. D.). We may note here that the Kshatrapa family was ousted completely by *Īśvaradatta Abhīra* about that (c. 236—238 A. D.).

² Pargiter, PT., 46, n. 24.

§133. The Yavanas are Indo-Greeks. 87 or 82 years (from Demetrius) will end, according to this chronology, about 90 B.C.

§134. The Tukhāras-Murundas with their 105, 104½, and 103 years will end about 181—183 A. D. which is 5 or 7 years after the last recorded date of Vāsudeva, with whose death the Imperial Kushāna Dynasty dissolved. (See also §140.)

§135. The Ābhīras rise before 188 A. D. (E. H. I., p. 226, n.) when they under Īśvaradatta invade the Sātavāhana dominions. Dating their rise about 180 A. D., their Purāṇic total (67) will bring us to c. 248 A. D., coinciding with the foundation of the Era of the *Traikūṭas* who superseded the Ābhīras. Thus this portion of the Purāṇas really ends with 243—248 A. D.

§136. Gardabhilas :

(a) The Jaina documents assume the Gardabhila king deposed by the Śakas of Kālaka to be a Hindu prince. They say that the Vikramāditya of 58 B. C. was connected by blood relation with him and that he was similarly connected with Samprati Maurya, and that the Sātavāhana of 78 A. D. was a direct descendant of 'Vikramāditya.'

(b) Somadeva's stories in the Kathāsaritsāgara, the originals of which go back to the Brihatkathā of Guṇāḍhya the Sātavāhana author, allege that Vikramāditya was at Pratiśthāna and Ujjain (Penzer, Volume VI, 231), that Vikramāditya married the daughter of the king of Kalinga called Kalinga-sena, the sovereign of Elāki-kesarin the Bhilla king. He was thus a son-in-law of the Kalinga king of the Bhillas and Śavaras. This may be taken as against the Jaina legend that Vikramāditya was a son of Garda-bhila or Garda-bhilla. Somadeva's story is more reasonable, as the Purāṇas treat Gardabhilas as a separate dynasty, but it seems that there was a political marriage between the Satavahana family and the Kalinga king (see §109 ff.). The Purāṇas give 72 years to the 7 Gardabhilas. They like the Jainas place them as the predecessors of the Śakas which the Vāyu expressly notes in their case. The king dispossessed by the Śakas of the Jaina

chronology, was the last of the line at Ujjain with a short rule of 13 years. The total rule of the dynasty is 72 years. Now if we count back from the beginning of the Śaka period, (58 B. C. + 42 or 40 =) 100 B. C. or 102 B. C., we get for the last Ujjayinī Gardabhila c. 115 B. C. to 102 B. C., and for the Gardabhila dynasty of 7 successors (102 + 72) c. 174 B. C. as the initial date. This is the time when Khāravela, 'not minding Śātakarṇi in the West', defeated in three years the *Raṭhikas* and *Bhojakas* (J. B. O. R., XIII, 244 where 182-179 B. C. is the date calculated, based on independent evidence). If we look at the Purāṇic chronology (see above §87), we find that after Śātakarṇi I up to Śātakarṇi II—for 72 years and for 42 years of the reign of Śātakarṇi II—there was no trace of the Sātavāhanas in inscriptions, and for about 72 years in coins, until the reign of Meghasvāti (c. 118-100 B.C.)—the immediate predecessor of Śātakarṇi II. Meghasvāti's reign thus coincides with the reign of the last Gardabhila and the rise of the Śaka rule.

We may take that there was the Gardabhila-rule for 72 years before c. 102-B. C. in Western India.

(c) As to the name *Gardabhila* we may take the Purāṇic readings *Gardabhila* and *Gardabhin* and the Jain *Gaddabhila* or *Gaddabhila* and *Rāsabha* ('ass') as sankritization of *Khara* ('ass') in *Khāra-vela*, and *vela* was probably turned into *bhilla* or *bhila* alternatively, which finds echo in Somadeva's story of the marriage of Vikramāditya with the daughter of the Bhilla Sovereign of Kalinga. [Cf. the Orissa stories making *Khara-bhila* I and *Khara-bhila* II, the last of the seven *Bhila Vamśa* kings of Orissa, beginning with *Aira-bhila*†]. The Jainas gave the derivation from 'ass', as the story of the she-ass of Gaddabhila at Ujjayinī is given in Kālakācharya Kathānaka, and Jina-sena in 783 A.D. translated it by *Rāsabha-rājānaḥ* 'Ass Kings', to whom he assigned 100 years. *Khāra* was equated with *Gārddhabha*, *Garddhabhin* and *Garddhabhi-la* (Prakrit 'borne of a she-ass'). I think, the forms: *Garddabha-bhila*

Gaddabhila, *Gardhabhin*, are contemporary, popular, probably caricatured, forms of the unfamiliar *Khāra-vela*, in Western India. The name could be easily caricatured. *Khāravēla* II or III, 'of assine passion' (lit.), was the last Gaddabhila. The forms *Gaddabhila* and *Gaddabhila-Khāravēla*, *Khāravella* both could mean the 'one of assine passion', as against the original *Kshāravēla*- 'Ocean' or 'Ocean-coast'. The process of translation is evident throughout, e.g. Jinasena's *Rāsabha rājānaḥ*, 'the Assine Kings'.

The strange name and the hated deed of the last king combined in turning the dynasty into one of asses.

(d) This proposed identification reconciles the facts in the legends and romances with the facts of history. Vikramāditya the son-in-law of the Kalinga king (*Kathā-Sarit*, ch. 123(ff), the last story) paid off old scores by wresting back the Kalinga dominions of 'the West' from the Śakas as the legitimate owner, and probably also as the overlord of Kalinga by that time. He recovered those territories which had once belonged to his own-fore-fathers. He killed the hated Mlechchhas and received the homage of his countrymen, and earned a name greater than that of Chandragupta and Pushyamitra.

(e) The story received corroboration from the *Garga-Saṃhitā* which joins the Śāta king with Kalinga who destroyed the Śaka king. Evidently it was the united army of the Sātavāhana and the Kalingas which won, and crushed the Śakas and their friends.

(f) The work of Khāravēla who had occupied the territories of all the feudatories of the Sātavāhana—the Āva-king (Ava-bhṛitya of the Bhāgavata) who had their flourishing town of Pīṭhūṇḍa,* the principality of the Mūsikas on the Mūsī river and some part of the valley of the Kṛishṇavermaṇḍa, the Raṭhikas and the Bhojakas in the Maratha country, lasted for 72 years right up to 102 B.C.†

*J. B. O. R. S., 1928, p. 150.

†Evidently his dynasty never struck any inscribed and signed coins, either in Western India or in Orissa.

(g) When we consider the great might of these Sātavāhanas, their recovery, not once but three times—after the Kalinga conquest, after the Śaka conquest, after the Kushāna conquest, leaving aside the presumed recovery under Yajña-Śrī—we have to admit that the Purāṇas were right in making them their pivot for chronological purposes.

Verification of the Numbers of Kings and Reign-Periods in the Contemporary Dynasties.

§137. I take first the Tukhāra groups. The Purāṇas show that they drew historical materials from three sources, which gave the following data :

(a) The dynasty of the *Tukharas* : 14 kings : borrowed by the Vāyu, Brahmanḍa, Matsya, Vishṇu, and Bhāgavata.

Their years' figures differ: the Matsya has *sapta varsha sahasrāṇi* against *pañcha varsha-satānīha* of the Vāyu and the Br. Here the author of the Matsya or a later editor misinterpreting the (Prakrit expressions for the figures takes the total of the whole group, including the Śakas', to be the total for the Tukhāras, 'as explained already (§128, n.). The text as preserved in the Vāyu and supported by the Brahmanḍa and corroborated by the *c* Vāyu gives the total to the Tukhāras of 105 years. We have thus 14 kings and '5 and 100' = 105 years. It is also borne out by the next datum which is really for the identical dynasty.

(b) The Muruṇḍas, 13 (V., Br., Vi., Bh.),

14 (Mt., according to Pargiter's oldest MS. written in 1729 A.D.

(Bodleian MS.) and another copy (Pargiter's *n* British Museum).

I think that the original figure in the Matsya was 14 and it was subsequently corrected to 13 under the influence of the other Purāṇas.

The Bhāgavata gives the number as 10, which is not a mistake as it is repeated in the next line (verse 30).* This is based

* I cannot agree with Mr. Pargiter that *bhāgyo dāsa* stands for *trayo dāsa* as 'an easy misreading' (p. 46, n. 22).

on an independent datum which we shall consider presently.

The years are : 104½ years (Vāyu, Br.),

104½ (Mt., later on corrected to 200 under the influence of the Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata : '199 years.' See below).

199 (Vishṇu and Bhāgavata).

The oldest and the important copies of the Matsya manuscripts called by Pargiter b, c, j, k, n, (b, 1729 ; c, 17th cent.), read *satāny ardhachaturthāni* as in the Vāyu-Br. text. But under the influence of the 199 years of the Vishṇu-Bh. which is entirely an independent tradition, the MS.-reading was emended into *ardhachatushkāni* '½ of a fourfold' = 200.

This is evident that the Matsya and the Vāyu had (a) the Muruṇḍas 14 and years 104½ with the Tukhāras 14 and years 105. Evidently the source which gave the imperial title Muruṇḍa was more accurate, while the 'Tukhāras' source omitted the fraction and had 105.

Now the Vishṇu's 13 Mu[ru]ṇḍas and 199 years and the Bhāgavata's 10 [M]uruṇḍas and 199 years show yet a third source and a third tradition which verifies itself perfectly well as we shall see presently.

(c) 11 Yaunas (Vāyu), Ja(u)nas (Mt.), Pauras (Vishṇu), Maunas (Bhāgavata) = YAUVAS : years 103 (unanimously).*

The Vishṇu mentions the dynasty twice, once like the Vāyu and the Matsya, as a member of the Tukhāra group (a) to (c), and assigns the longest total, that is, the one for 'the 13' : '199 years', against the all.† It does not mention any other total for any other member of the group. This indicates that the Vishṇu found a definite datum 199 and as the longest and probably the leading one. Now the Vishṇu evidently had also two readings of the term : *Maunā* which it gives when dealing with the group, but after it had finished with the group, in its next

* Matsya instead of *ekā-dāsa* has *ekonaviṃśa*, but when it repeats the dynasty it reads correctly *ekādaśa* like others.

† Possibly extending to and covering all the contemporary dynasties (Ābhīras, etc.)

section, notes '11 Pauras' and '103 years.' Its author thought that it was an independent and separate dynasty owing to the differing spellings. Very likely it got *Yauvā* or *Pauvā* which could always be read in the old scripts into the familiar *Paurā*. We have thus independent traditions for :

14 Tuhkharas, 105 years.

14 Muruṇḍas, 104½ years.

13 Muruṇḍas, 199 years.

10 Muruṇḍas, 199 years.

11 Yauvas, 103 years

which may be classified as

(1) 14 or 13 Kings : 199 years or 104½ years.

(2) 10 or 11 kings : 103 years or 199 years.

§ 138. There are clearly here two reckonings. Some authorities counted the kings, whom we call *Kushānas* and they called *Tukkhāras* or *Muruṇḍas*, as starting from Kadphises I and the others from Kanishka. The 11 *Yauvas* who have a definite number * and years, were those which were counted from Kanishka ending by or before the end of the Andhra period. These 11 will be the 5 Imperial Kushanas from Kanishka to Vāsudeva and his immediate successors amongst whom the empire was partitioned. The difference between the figure 103 or 104 for the *Yauvas* or *Muruṇḍas* and their larger figure 199 is about 94 years. These are the years for the pre-Kanishka *Yauvas*. They would be according to one version (13—11)2, or according to the other view of Hindu historians 3(14—11). Unfortunately it leaves us in the same suspense as to whether the Kadphises *Yauvas* were two or three. The ancient historians were probably as much divided as the modern scholars are on the number of the Kadphises', for both the numbers 13 (for the *Muruṇḍas*) and 14 (for the *Tukkhāras*) are well attested. Not only that the *Vāyu* says that there were 14 *Tukkhāras* 'here', i.e., 'in India', implying that the author counted from the first Kadphises.

* According to the opinion of some chroniclers their number might have been taken as ten, as one of the princes might not have reigned in full authority. After Vāsudeva there were several kings at the same time (cf. § 140.)

There might have been a short lived monarch between W'ima and Kanishka, in the person of the unnamed 'brother of the Mahārāja' of Jihonika's record of the Taxila vase of the year 191 (Konow, p. 82).

§ 139. Ninety-four years before Kanishka the beginning of the Muruṇḍas 'here' 'in India' will be dated c 16 B.C. We know that when a Śaka prince, not a Mahārāja, 'Kapa' by name or designation, in 103 old Śaka Era (20 B.C., Takht-i-Bahi insc.) was mentioned there was no Muruṇḍa Mahārāja in India, while Mahārāja Kushāna was actually ruling in 123 old Śaka year (Panjtar), i.e., in 1 A.D. Dr Konow regards the Kapa of Takht-i-Bahi to be the same as Kadphises I. If that is correct, he was not a king in India in 20 B.C., but became so in 16 B.C. according to the Purāṇic reckoning. I think, the school of chroniclers who counted 14 Tocharis in India counted Kadphises I also, and those who counted 13, left him out. There seems to be here evidence, therefore, for there having been three princes of the line before Kanishka. I would place the third between W'ima and Kanishka.* That difference of one succession is carried down to the figure 10 of the Bhāgavata for the Muruṇḍas against 11 for the Yau(v)as.

§ 140. 103 or 104 years will bring the Purāṇic reckoning down to about 181 or 182 A.D. (§ 134) which is about a few years later than the end of the reign of Vādudeva. In that year the Kushāna power was regarded to have come to an end in India. The last dated record of the reign of Vāsudeva corresponds to 176 A.D. and we find in that very year the Old Śaka Era revived and used at Mathurā (Lüders, no. 78 of Mahārājatirāja, etc., in the year 299) ($299-123=176$ A.D.) After the death of Vāsudeva the descendants of Kanishka give up his era: there arose several (more than two) Mahārājatirājas as Samudragupta found. It may be noticed that the last insc. of Vāsudeva (year 98, Lüders' no. 77) is followed within a month at Mathurā itself, by the insc. of the year 299, which

* This would displace the opinion that no one intervened between the two (c.f. §6 above).

shows that he died within those days. 19 years later in the Swat Valley at Loriyan Tangai we find the Old Era used it again (year 318). The Kushāna or Tukhāra empire and with it its era were gone. Within 5 years which followed Vāsudeva's death probably 5 or 6 claimants fought each other and succeeded amongst themselves, and they in the eyes of their contemporaries were finished as a ruling dynasty. It is certain that we have not found any reliable name—even of one prince—after Vāsudeva.

§141. It is worthy of note that the Purāṇic historians do not know the modern term *Kushāna*. They have employed the place-name designation *Tukkhāra*, the imperial titles *Muruṇḍa* and *Yauca*.* But they never employ *Kushāna* which goes against the theory that *Maharaja Kushana* means 'the Kushana Maharaja' and not the natural "Maharaja Kushana (by name)".

§142. The basis for their identification as Śaka is the inscription of Samudragupta calling them *Śaka-Muruṇḍas* along with their well known 'Kushāna' titles (*Daiyaputra* etc.).

The Śakas of the Puranas.

§143. The *Śaka* in the Purāṇas are distinguished from the *Tukhāra Muruṇḍas* probably for the reason that the dynasty gave up the Old Śaka Era and established itself entirely as a new, unconnected dynasty, from the time of Kanishka who through Buddhism sought to establish Hindu affinities for his House. He following the Hindu custom established a *devakula* of his family. He never employed the word *Śaka* to himself. The Śakas were hated, they had been once driven out. He copied the deeds of Aśoka, patronised the religion which alone could affiliate him to Hindu Society. His family is described in the Purāṇas as ruling along with the *Vṛishalas* which meant Buddhists in those days. Huvishka followed this policy fully. Probably Vāsudeva did the same.

* I do not agree with Konow on the value of *Yavuga*. Sir J. Marshall is right in regarding it as an imperial title. It has been found along with 'Mahārāja rājātīrāja' title on coins by Sir John in his Taxila excavations.

§144. The Purāṇas give three figures for the number of the Śaka kings but the reign-period is the same :

Vāyu : 10 kings, 183 years.

Matsya : 18 kings, 183 years.

Vishṇu

Bhāgavata

} 16 kings, no reign period.

The Vāyu notes that the Śakas followed the Gardabhins. It therefore counts the Śakas like the Jaina Gāthā, that is, its Śakas are the early, B.C. Śakas. Its number 10 will correspond to 2 Kshaharāta rulers or their kings, plus 8 Mahākshatrapas of the family of Chashtāna, viz.

1. Chashtāna
2. Rudradāmana
3. Dāmajada (or, more correctly, Ozada)
4. Jīva-dāman
5. Rudra-simha I
6. Rudra-sena
7. Saṅghadāman
8. Dāmasena

After Dāmasena comes in Īśvaradatta Abhīra (cf. also §132). The family is superseded. We know the date (in the Second Śaka era) from Rudradāman to Dāmasena : 130 A.D. to 238 A.D. (-108 years). In the year 28 of Kanishka's era a Kushāna king we find ruling up to an area including Sanchi. We may be certain that in 106 A.D. some one on their behalf was in Western India, and that some one cannot be any one other than Chashtāna. There was a break before 150 A.D. when Rudradāman says that he was elected king by the population. The recovered position from c. 100 to 238 A.D. with a break for 5 or 10 years (as Rudradāman's father remained only a subordinate to some Hindu king, presumably the Sātavāhana). Up to 78 A.D. with their claim of reviving the old Śaka empire which the Chinese records suggest (Konow, p. LXVII), evidently they failed, and the Hindu tradition in asserting a defeat of the Śakas in 78 A.D. by the Sātavāhana preserves the history of

the struggle about 78 A.D. Chashtāna* who starts life as a Kshatrpa, becomes a Mahākshatrpa later, and was found ruling at Ujjain by the contemporaries of Ptolemy. This will fix the establishment of the Śaka Satrapal power about 100 A. D. On the evidence of the Kushāna over-lordship in the Sanchi inscription, dated under King Vāsishka in year 28,* we have to date the re-establishment, as already observed above, c. (28 + 78) 106 A. D., when Malwa was certainly under the Kushānas. Up to 238 A. D., we get about 130 years making allowance for their loss of power before 150 A. D. For the Khaharāta period every one is agreed that Nahapāna had a long reign and the Jaina literature assigns him 40 or 42 years. Allowing about 8 years to Bhūmaka whose rule was confined to the coastal Gujrat, that is, near about Bharukachchha, we obtain a total of—

130 years for Chashtāna's family,
50 years for the Khaharatas

180

years, against 183 years of the Purāṇas. This Purāṇic datum is thus made of two periods separated by 150 years between them.

§144. Now when we take up the number 16 of the Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata we find that they counted the members of only Chashtāna's dynasty with such successions where reigns were repeated or which were of such Satraps who ruled but did not become Mahākshatrapas but were however actual rulers in the line. The number of such successions comes to be exactly (8) :—

Jayadāman,
Satyadāman,
Rudra-simha I's second reign,
Jīvadāman's 2nd reign,

* Some coins of Chashtāna seem to bear the figure 4 in Kharoshthī script (Rapo n, C.A.D., p. CXIV) which may refer to the first struggle.

†J. B. A. S., 1912, 118.

Prithivīśena,
 Dāmajada II,
 Vīradāman,
 Yaśodāman (238 A.D., contemporary of
 Iśvaradatta).

These with the 8 Mahākshatrapa reigns make up the total of 16 rulers. The Purāṇas who count only the Chasṭāna rulers do not assign any total reign period, but imply (the Viṣṇu very clearly) that their years are covered by the 199 years of the Muṇḍas.

§145. The number 18 of the Matsya, which gives the total Śaka reign-period as 183, included apparently the 2 Kshaharātas or their sovereigns.

Thus again here we notice at least three sources of the Purāṇic data.

§146. The two oldest copies of the Matsya (b, Wilson, dated 1729 and c dated 1767) supported by two other copies (Pargiter, p. 47, *ns.* 49-50) give the additional fact that these rulers were divisible in 9 and 18 : *nava ch aṣṭādaśiva tu*. In the 9 there were counted only the Mahākshatrapas who were as a matter of fact only 9 (1, in the Kshaharātas and 8 in Chasṭāna's family). The Vāyu's 10 probably represents two Śaka sovereigns of the Kshaharātas. The Matsya, as it originally stood, gave two reckonings—one of the Mahākshatrapas and the other successions and reigns of actual rulers. It had also another reign-period, 103 years (Pargiter, page 46, *ns.* 47-48, older Mss.), corresponding to the Kushāna period.

Traikuta Era.

§147. It is clear from the above analysis that, firstly, this portion of the Purāṇas is based on accurate reckonings. Secondly, the Purāṇas take the last dates of the Sātavāhana dynasty as their pivot. Thirdly, the only instance where a dynasty goes beyond them is that of the Abhīras whose close the Purāṇas register, and that works out to be c. 249, the beginning of the Traikuta Era.

It seems that the Purāṇas used 249 A.D. as a land-mark to close the Sātavāhana period and the contemporary history.

III

The Puranas and the so-called Dark Period.

§148. The Purāṇas have also given the history of India from 249 A.D. to "the Guptas of Magadha", as the Vishṇu calls the dynasty, while they were ruling only over Śāketa in the north and up to Prayāga (Allahabad) in the west. That is a period of the reign of *Chandragupta* I, c. 320 A.D. Thus the Purāṇas again select a New Era and close the period before that. The picture they give is an India divided into local sovereignties, without any imperial dynasty. They give the history with reference to localities. In respect thereof, they go at times before 249 A.D. to begin the rulers of the particular places, if they started before 249 A.D. That history I regard as a complete picture for the period between the Āndhras and the Guptas. As the Purāṇas give the details for the Śaka-Sātavāhana period, so they do for the pre-Gupta period, and really there is no "dark period" left. That Purāṇic history is fully borne out by Samudragupta's inscription and other documents. The Purāṇas, for instance, mention the Nāgas ruling at Mathurā, the Pushyamītras at Mekalā, descendants of Nahapāna and others at Vidiśā, the Meghas in Kosalā (Orissa and Chhatisgarh), the Pulindas, the Yadus, the Madrakas, the Āndhras and the Paṇdyas, the Abhiras in Avanti and Saurāshṭra, the Mālavas, etc., etc. The Purāṇic picture is worth a critical study. But unfortunately no one has yet set his hand to it, and every one repeats that it is a "dark period", while the light to come out needs only removing the blind of inaction. With the known Vākātaka—"the Kilakilas" of the Purāṇas, from 300 A.D., a complete account of local sovereignties between the Āndhras and the Guptas is recoverable. According to the Purāṇas the Kilakilas led and with them begins the post-Yauva and post-Āndhra period. With such materials in store, we have no right to own that we have still a dark period in the history of Hindu Times.

II.—Linguistic Analysis of Dravidian names denoting 'Peacock' and 'Bat'.

By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L. (Maharaja's College, Ernakulam).

While initiating a new line of research into the etymologies of certain Indo-Aryan words, Prof. Jean Przyluski of Paris observed a few years ago, "When the Aryans came from the temperate regions and spread over tropical India they had no words in their vocabulary for a large number of plants, animals and unknown products of the new country. Thus it can be supposed *à priori* that they acquired important loans from the languages of the non-Dravidian populations with whom they first came in contact."⁽¹⁾ In a series of papers Prof. Przyluski has pursued this line of enquiry and shown that a number of Indo-Aryan terms of plants and animals should have been borrowings from what has been called the Austric family of languages spoken by a certain non-Dravidian race of peoples on the mainland of India and elsewhere. These "Austrics" are admittedly a non-Dravidian race and their language possesses no *affinities* to Dravidian. Prof. Przyluski has pointed out that in pre-Aryan times they should have inhabited much larger areas in India than we are led to believe from the few Austric (Santāli, Muṇḍārī and Kôl) islets in the eastern provinces of India. That the Dravidians too had remained in India long before the advent of the Aryans admits of little doubt; but whether the Dravidians of India were pre-Austrics or post-Austrics is a question on which difference of opinion has been expressed. Be this what it may, modern researches everywhere favour the view that the Dravidians and the Austrics should have lived and

(¹) BSL, volume XXII, page 205, and the English translation of this article in "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian", published recently by the Calcutta University.

mingled together in pre-Aryan India for large periods of time. If on the one side Indo-Aryan has borrowed (as demonstrated by Prof. Przyluski's papers) a number of terms from the Austric speeches, on the other side the lexicological relations between the Dravidian languages and the Austric speeches could at least have been not less striking. It is not only possible but quite probable that there were mutual loans of words between Dravidian and Austric even during an ancient pre-Aryan period.⁽²⁾

In a paper contributed to the QJMS I had pointed out a large number of word-correspondences between Dravidian and Austric, and I had taken care to eliminate from that list all instances where the "bases" on either side failed to agree. In that paper of mine, however, I contented myself with recording the base-parallels, reserving for future papers a more intensive discussion of the individual instances, without which no finality or definiteness could be attained in matters of

(2) Quite a large number of words appear to be common to the Dravidian speech Kurukh and the neighbouring Indian "Austric" tongues—Santāli, Mundāri, etc. Kūi and Gōṇḍi apparently only show much fewer words common to them and the "Austric" tongues. The large number of words common to Kurukh and to the "Austric" speeches require to be analysed carefully in order that the *modern* loans may be marked off from the *ancient* ones. An analysis of this kind both on the "Austric" side and on the Dravidian side, alone may enable us to determine approximately the period or periods of borrowing.

So far as we can say at present, Dravidic-Austric loans may fall into three periods, roughly speaking:—

(i) Ancient pre-Aryan loans and borrowings, the traces of which could be looked for possibly in all the modern dialects. Mr. Hornell's view of ancient Dravidians having probably absorbed a proto-Polynesian stock of peoples in South India (*vide* Asiatic Society Memoirs, volume VII), and Prof. Przyluski's postulate of the contact of Dravidians and Austriacs all over pre-Aryan India would directly suggest this.

(ii) The loans and borrowings of the period when cultural and commercial relationships were established between South India and Greater India. Prof. Van Ronkel of Leyden has dealt with a number of Dravidian loans of this period, occurring in the speeches of Malay Peninsula. A systematic study of Dravidian borrowings from Greater India has yet to be attempted.

(iii) Modern loans and borrowings found in the Dravidian and the Austric speeches lying contiguous to one another in Central India to-day.

word-parallels. In later papers of mine I took up a few of the prominent word-parallels for more detailed discussion. In my paper on Dravidian 'betel' (JOR, January 1931) I discussed the remarkable correspondence shown by one set of Dravidian forms for 'betel', to the Austric base denoting the same idea. In another paper of mine, (³) I discussed the Dravidian words for 'pomegranate' (*māḍalam*) and those for 'ear', 'cheek', etc., and pointed out the possibilities of relationship which these words may bear to certain Austric words,

I may say at once that I am far from having attained any finality in these discussions of mine. For one thing, all those criteria which Prof. Przyluski has so brilliantly applied in his discussions of Indo-Aryan and Austric, are not available for the student of Dravido-Austric borrowings. Again, the study of the native etymologies of Dravidic words as well as of Austric forms is only in its infancy. The only thing possible for us in these circumstances is to visualise possibilities through the analysis of the structural and semantic constituents of words on either side so far as we could do so.

In this paper I propose to discuss, purely from the standpoint of the Dravidist, the possibilities of Dravido-Austric relationship in connection with certain Dravidian forms denoting the names of—

(1) 'Peacock'

and (2) 'Bat'.

The method of procedure that I have adopted in this and other essays is to subject the Dravidian forms to a close structural and semantic analysis and then to indicate roughly the possibilities of the native or foreign character of the words.

I.—'PEACOCK'.

Tamil : *mayil*, *ṇamali*, *maṇṇai*, *naviram*, *tōgai*, *pīli*.

Telugu : *eme*, *nemme*, *nemali*, *nevali*.

Kannada : *nemali*, *naval*, *navila*, *navalu*, *more*, *sōge*.

Tulu : *maire*.

Kūi : *maṭ-ka, melu.*

Gōṇḍi : *maḷ.*

Of these forms, Tamil *tōgai* and Kannaḍa *sōge* on the one hand, and Tamil *pīli* on the other, may straightaway be isolated as forms distinct and separate from the rest.

Tamil *tōgai* is a very ancient form meaning 'peacock's feather' and 'peacock'. Its primary meaning should have been the former, judged by the native Dravidian base *to-(ñ)g* (to be joined, suspended, hung) on which it is formed. The latter meaning 'peacock' is evidently secondarily derived through irradiation. Similarly *pīli* which in Tamil commonly means 'feather and particularly peacock's feather', should have acquired the meaning 'peacock' through irradiation.

Kannaḍa *sōge* is apparently connected with Tamil *tōgai*, the initial *s*-being the fricatised resultant of original *t* and final *-e* of Kannaḍa representing Tamil *-ai*.

We have next to find out if the remaining forms together constitute a group by themselves.

The set of forms in Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu, which has initial *n* and medial *-m-l-* appear to be related amongst themselves.

The interchange of *-m-* and *-v-* in medial positions is quite common in Dravidian and the change of *a* to *e* under the influence of palatal consonants or vowels is also quite explicable. The presence of *ñ* in Tamil corresponding to the alveolar *n* of Telugu and Kannaḍa is only a characteristic feature of Tamil, which I have discussed elsewhere.⁽⁴⁾

There is hardly any doubt therefore that the forms beginning with *n-*, *n-* are all related.

The other set of forms with initial *m-* also appear to be related among themselves. Tamil *maññe* can be derived from *mayil*, the palatal *ñ* being traceable to nasalised *ȳ*, as in *ilaiyar*, *ilaiñar* (young people), etc. The interchange of *l* and *r* being common in Dravidian, Tulu *maire* (if it is not a direct borrowing from IA *mayura*) may also be said to be related to *mayil*.

(4) Q. J. M. S., April 1930,

Gôṇḍi *mal* (subject to reservations about the question if it is a direct borrowing from Indo-Aryan) is probably a reduced form of *mayil* itself, while Kûi *maṭka* divested of the plural ending *-ka* could be related to *mayil* through the intermediate stage *mal* where *l* combining with *-k* of the plural ending *-ka* gave rise to the alveolar *t* which then became cerebralised in Kûi to *ṭ*.

If then the original among these forms be considered to be *mayil*, the structural correspondence of these forms to Sanskrit *mayūra* irresistibly suggests itself. But Professor Przyluski has pointed out in one of his papers that the Sanskrit word *mayūra* may be a borrowing from Austric—a family of languages with which Dravidian may be presumed to have remained in contact even before the advent of the Aryans. Here then is a complicated tangle! How are we to establish the exact nature of the relationships here?

I do not pretend to be able to solve the tangle finally, but I shall envisage the possibilities from the standpoint of the Dravidist.

Is there any relationship between the Dravidian group with initial *m*- and that with initial *n*-?

The existence of forms like *eme* and *emali* in Telugu would lead one to think that there may be. On the one hand, neither the group beginning with initial *n*- nor the forms *eme*, *emali* could possibly be affiliated directly to any native Dravidian base with initial *n*- or *e*-. On the other hand, initial *n*, as I have shown in my paper treating about this sound in Q J M S,—can arise in Dravidian prothetically before initial front vowels, and therefore we may be justified in regarding *emali* to be the base-form from which the *n*- forms may have been derived.

And this *emali* does look like metathesised variant of *mayil*.

Thus the forms with initial *m*- and those with initial *n*- appear to be connected through the stage represented by the metathesised form *emali*.

The uncertainty of the character of intermediate vowels in the Kannaḍa and Telugu forms probably evidences the fact of metathesis itself. And metathesis is not a rare phenomenon in Dravidian, cf. Tamil *ñimiru* (bee) and *miñuru* (bee).

An exactly parallel instance of metathesis appears to have occurred in Tamil *mayiru* ⁽⁵⁾ (hair) as shown by the occurrence of its variant *naviru* (hair) in Tamil and Kannaḍa.

Proceeding thus, we are led to think that *mayil* may have been the original source-form in Dravidian from which the other forms have been derived. Can this source-form be considered to be native Dravidian?

A native Dravidian semantic derivation may be suggested for *mayil*. The word may be interpreted as 'dark-spotted', as is suggested by the first component *may* (dark) which has combined (it may be suggested) with the characteristic Dravidian formative *il*. The dark-spotted feather of the peacock is its most conspicuous feature; cf. expressions like *mayilan-mūri* (dark-spotted ox), etc.

In the course of a paper on "Dravidian *māy* and Sanskrit *māyā*", I have pointed out that the ancient Dravidian *mā-y* may have given rise to the following forms:

Tamil : *may* (dark colour, collyrium)

mayil-ai (dirt)

māsu (stain) $\curvearrowright s < y$

Kannaḍa : *macce* (black speck)

mabbu (darkness)

masa-ku (dusky colour)

masulu (to lose lustre)

māl (black)

malu (to grow dim)

Kāṭi : *ma-g-uri* (dusk, twilight)

māsi (filth, dirt, stain)

māsu (dusk, twilight)

Gōṇḍi : *marro* (black mole or wart).

(5) This word has also been described as an ancient tadbhava from Indo-Aryan *smāru*.

It would appear from the above that *māy*—with the meaning 'dark', 'changing (colour)', 'dim' is a very ancient base in Dravidian. The particular meanings 'dark, etc.' which the forms given above possess, may easily be shown to be the prossemic outgrowths of an original basic meaning 'to change, to turn' which *ma-* appears to signify in a host of other derivative words formed with the characteristic Dravidian affixes : -*g*, *r*, *r*, etc. (*Vide* my paper on "Skt. *māyā* and Dravidian *māy*").

If then *may* is an ancient Dravidian base with the meaning 'dark', cannot *may-il* ⁽⁶⁾ have been a native Dravidian formation to denote the peacock which possesses dark spots on its feathers?

Could we then be certain that *mayil* was a native Dravidian formation? There are difficulties in postulating such a view:—

(1) In the semantic derivation suggested above, it is doubtful if what we have postulated as the first component *mayi* with the meaning 'dark' is unequivocally a native Dravidian form. If *mayi* is, as some suggest, actually a *tadbbhava* of Sanskrit *masi*, one will have to suppose, if one wants to indicate the native character of *mayil*, that Dravidian employed the *tadbbhava* for forming the word *mayil*.

(2) *Mayil* as such with the meaning 'peacock' occurs only in Tamil. The Gôḍi, Tulu and Kûi forms cannot conclusively be proved to be directly related to Tamil *mayil*. It is possible

(6) *Mayil* with another meaning 'toddy' shows how the basal *may*- (intoxicating) is directly connected with *may-aigu*, etc., signifying, 'to be changed (in feeling), etc.'

Mayil has also a third meaning in Tamil: 'dog'. It may be interesting to point out here that apparently the 'wandering propensities' of the dog are denoted by this term, the basal *may* of which should have signified the idea of 'changing (from place to place)' 'wandering'. It is curious that an alternative word for 'dog' is *navil* exactly as in the case of the word for 'peacock'.

The alternative forms:—

<i>mayil</i> (peacock)	—	<i>navil</i>
<i>mayil</i> (dog)	—	<i>navil</i>
<i>mayil</i> (hair)	—	<i>navir</i>

in three words with three separate (but basically related) source-meanings might be corroborative of our postulate of metathetical change in the intermediate stage.

that these dialects borrowed the forms from Indo-Aryan. If Tamil *mayil* is native and ancient, why should it have failed to appear as such in Telugu and Kannada? Why should it have been metathesised almost beyond recognition in these dialects?

(3) And the very theory of metathesis evokes suspicions. That degree of fixity of structure which we associate with purely native Dravidian words does not exist for these forms. And possibly here we are not concerned with any metathesis at all but only with adaptations of differently pronounced variants borrowed from a foreign source. Is it possible that this foreign source is Austric? This is a possibility for which the peculiar Dravidian words (?) for 'cheek, ear' furnish a direct parallel.

The question of the native origin of *mayil*, etc., is thus not free from difficulties, though when one tries to tackle it purely with reference to the base on which it is formed, there appears to be some justification to regard it as native in Dravidian. What indeed its relationship may be to Vedic *mayūra* on the one side and the Austric forms *marak*, *mraḥ*, *merah*, *moriah*, *miyah*, etc., on the other is a problem which—let us hope—will some day be solved successfully by scholars like Prof. Przyluski.

II.—BAT.

Tamil : *vavvāl*.

Telugu : *gabbidāyi*, *cikurvāyi*, *gabbilamu*.

Kannada : *gabbilayi*, *bāval*, *bāvale*, *bāvule*.

Malayālam : *Kaḍa-vāḍil*, *vāval*, *vavvāl*,

Tulu : *bāoli*-

Kñi : *bāpla*.

None of these forms can be satisfactorily related to known Dravidian bases. None of the Dravidian lexicographers have suggested convincing explanations. Gundert hesitatingly queries whether *vavvāl* and *vāval* may not have anything to do with the Tamil onomatopoeic verb *vavvu* (to snatch with the mouth, like a dog). One cannot see how this verb could be connected semantically with *vavvāl*.

(1) *Vide* my article on these Dravidian words in the "Educational Review", May 1930.

As for Telugu *gabbilamu* and Kannada *gabbiddayi*, no adequate explanation is available, either. These two words are apparently related and are different from Telugu *cikurvadyi* which means 'beetle, squeaker, bat'. This latter word seems to have an onomatopoeic formation, judged by its structure [*cikuru*, an onomatopoeic word? + *vadyi* (mouthed)].

None of the other forms could be fully and satisfactorily connected with one another according to known Dravidian rules of change, though in certain respects there does exist agreement. They look like borrowings of variants from a foreign speech, and such variants (as shown below) exist in Austric.

If we consider the following Austric forms cited by Professor S. K. Chatterji (on page XXI of "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian"), we shall find that the basal constituents of all the Dravidian forms could be explained satisfactorily as borrowings of Austric variants.

The following are some of the Austric forms cited by Professor Chatterji.—

- (1) *Ka-wad*
- (2) *Ka-wet*
- (3) *Ka-wed*
- (4) *Ka-wat*
- (5) *wat*
- (6) *ha-pet*
- (7) *ha-met*
- (8) *Ka-wa*.

If we separate the endings [(*v*)*al*; *il*, etc.] of the Dravidian forms as presumably having been tacked on in the process of adaptation, the basal constituents would be the following:—

- va-*, *ba-*
- vā-*, *bā-*
- vāḍ-*
- gabbā-*
- gabbāḍ-*

The first two correspond to the Austric base represented in (8) without the final *-t*.

The third form *vād* found in Malayālam *vāḍal* ⁽⁸⁾ corresponds to the Austric base with a final *-d* as in (3) above.

The fourth corresponds to the prefixed form no. (8) in the Austric list with inter-vocal *-v-* changed to *-bb-*, while the last one answers in structure to the full (prefixed) Austric form no. (4).

Striking as these parallelisms may be, the explanations offered here cannot indeed be regarded as conclusive yet. They only indicate a certain direction along which an explanation for the peculiarly constituted Dravidian forms for 'bat' may be sought.

In this connection one cannot also forget Sanskrit *valgula* (bat) and the Marāṭhi forms *vāgul*, *vākhul* and *vākhul*. Kittel has included Sanskrit *valgula* already in his list of Sanskrit words probably borrowed from Dravidian (vide page XXII of the Introduction to his Kannāḍa Dictionary). This however is a mere suggestion which requires to be investigated in close connection with our discussion of the relationships of Dravidian forms for 'bat' and their Austric correspondences. The question of the contacts of Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric is yet much too knotty for us to dispense with the striking word-parallelisms offered by any one of these language-families. Sanskrit *valgula* and the Marāṭhi forms with all have to be brought within the purview of our discussion, even if we primarily aim at the elucidation of Dravidian-Austric borrowings in connection with the forms denoting 'bat'. Just as we have come to recognise to-day that Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric have alike contributed important elements to the composite culture of Hindoo India, even so we shall have to envisage, while discussing lexicological relationships, the part played by all the three great language-families of India : Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric.

(8) Compare Modern Indo-Aryan *bādud* (bat) which has been already suggested as being related to the Austric forms by Professor B. K. Chatterji in "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian", page XXI.

One may indeed suggest the possibility of Indo-Aryan forms having been loaned out, or borrowed from, Dravidian; but the occurrence of *gabbat*, *gabbā* in Dravidian suggests a direct connection of Dravidian with Austric.

III.—Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna.

By Syed Mohammad, B.A., B.L.

List of inscriptions.

Serial no.	Inscription.	Date according to Hijri era.
1	Begu Hajjam's mosque (Nazir Khan's inscription).	916
2	Muhammad Murad Shahanshah Sufi's tomb.	949
3—5	Mirza Masum's mosque	1023, 1025
6 & 7	Mausoleum of Shah Arzani	1028, 1052
8	Stone mosque	1036
9	Idgah (Saif Khan)	1038
10	Madrassa mosque	1039
11	Begu Hajjam's mosque (Muhammad Beg's inscription).	1056
12	Haji Chand's mosque	1056
13	Tombstone in Rajab's mosque	1059
14	Doondi Bazar mosque	1061
15	Shah Sajawal's tomb	1064
16 & 17	Dargah mosque	1070
18	Dhai Kangura mosque	1072
19	Court of Justice (Jafar's)	1074
20	Roza mosque	1078
21	Ambar's mosque	1100
22	Bazurg Umed Khan's mosque	1100
23	Sultangunge mosque	1114
24	Shah Kaley's mausoleum	1124

Serial no.	Inscription.	Date according to Hijri era.
25	Shah Shabaz's mausoleum	1126
26	Court of Justice (Hassan Ali's) ...	1142
27	Malsalami mosque	1150
28	Shah Basant's mausoleum	1158
29	Rahimunnissa's tomb	1160
30	Moniruddowla's tomb	1173
31	Mir Afzal's tomb	1174
32	Shah Karimullah's mausoleum ...	1185
33	Koka Khan's tomb	1186
34	Mir Ashraf's mosque	1187
35	Mir Ashraf's tomb	1189
36	A lady's tomb in Mir Ashraf's compound	1189
37—39	Shish Mahal mosque	1190
40	Gorhatta Bari Masjid	1191
41	Danka-ki-imli mosque	1196
42	Hakim Saiyid Ahmad Husain's tomb ...	1198
43	Mir Ali Ibrahim's tomb	1199
44	Dooly Ghat mosque	1200
45	A lady's tomb	1201
46	Fakhruddowla's mosque	1202
47	Lodikatra mosque	1202
48	Nurpur imambara	1203
49	Uparka Bazar mosque	1203
50—54	Gholam Yehya's mosque	1207, 1208
55	Bulaki's mosque	1208
56	Shah Gholam Husain's mausoleum ...	1211
57 & 58	Mir Madarullah's mosque	1211

Serial no.	Inscription.	Date according to Hijri era.
59	Keating's mosque	1212
60	A tomb in Sultan Dumba's mosque ...	1212
61	Roshan Muhammad Khan's tomb ...	1213
62	Husaini Begam's mosque ...	1214
63	Hajigunge mosque	1217
64	Madaroo's mosque	1217
65	Kashmiri Bagh mosque	1219
66	A child's tomb	1219
67	Mirza Aziz's tomb	1223
68	Bibi Man's tomb	1223
69	Shah Hassan Ali's tomb	1224
70	Dhoulpora mosque	1227
71	Qilla mosque	1229
72	Shah Rustum Ali's tomb	1230
73	Muradunnissa's mosque	1233
74	Pagal Khana mosque	1233
75	Moradpore mosque	1234
76	Shah Hamza Ali's tomb	1236
77	Gorhatta choti masjid	1240
78	Shaikh Bihari's mosque	1240
79	Kazim Ali's mosque	1241
80	Baam Saheb's mosque	1242
81	Nagla mosque	1244
82	Asalat Khan's mosque	1244
83	Balkhi Saheb's mosque	1247
84	Golakhpur mosque	1248
85	Bath	1249

Serial no.	Inscription.	Date according to Hijri era.
86	Chowk mosque	1251
87	Shah Karim Bux's mausoleum ...	1252
88	Kaua Khoh mosque	1252
89	Gulzarbagh mosque	1255
90	Shah Gholam Husain's mosque ...	1255
91	Baqargunge mosque	1257
92	Tikia Shah's tomb	1257
93	Fazl Ali's mosque	1257
94	Lawn mosque	1258
95	Idgah (Dargah)	1258
96	Khadim Ali's mosque	1258
97	Ibadullah Shah's mausoleum ...	1260
98	Alamgunge mosque	1261
99	Najaf Ali's tomb	1261
100	Heegan's mosque	1261
101	Dafeli's mosque	1263
102	Wahid Ali's mosque	1263
103	Shish Mahal private mosque ...	1264
104	City Court mosque	1265
105	Mir Abdullah's tomb	1265
106	Mehdi Ali Khan's tomb	1266
107	Nai Sarak mosque	1270
108	Mian Khan's tomb	1271
109	Shaikh Heegan's mosque	1271
110	Muhammadi Khanum's tomb ...	1272
111	Baqargunge lane mosque	1275
112	Headstone of Bibi Latifan's tomb ...	1276

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Abbreviation.

J.B.O.R.S. ... Journal, Bihar and Orissa Research
Society.

Introduction.

A RECORD of the inscriptions of a city like Patna which has played such an important part in the history of the country cannot but be interesting and useful reading. The inscriptions of the Hindu times are very rare in the city and notice has been taken of them from time to time when the buildings in which they are found have been described or reference has been made to them.¹ A record of the inscriptions at the Catholic Church at Patna has been prepared by the Rev. A. Gille, S. J., with the help of rubbings taken by Mr. J. F. Blakiston, Assistant Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, with notes by the Rev. H. Hosten, S. J., and published by the Government of Bihar and Orissa. Father Hosten had also published some of the inscriptions from this church and from other Christian tombs in the city in *Bengal: Past and Present*, even before it.² Father Gille when engaged in recording the inscriptions of the Catholic Church at Patna copied 26 inscriptions in graveyards other than those of the church which Father Hosten promised to publish in some historical review.³ Thus it will be seen that the inscriptions on the Christian monuments of Patna have also been fully described and published by this time. It is unfortunate that although the city played no mean part during the Muslim times no record of the inscriptions of the Muslim buildings and the monuments has been prepared as yet.

In spite of the fact that the city covers a large area the number of inscriptions recorded is not as great as might be expected. This is due to several reasons. Although there are proofs that Patna had already risen from the state of wilderness described by the Chinese traveller Yuang Ch'wang and was inhabited before Moghal rule it was not a large city. The chief centre of activity whether commercial, political or religious in the locality during that period was Bihar town which was perhaps the

Paucity of materials and its reasons.
(i) Late rise of the city.

¹ *E.g.*, L. A. Waddell, Report on the Excavation of Pataliputra, page 16.

² Vol. IX, part I, 1914, pp. 28—34; Vol. IX, part II, 1914, pp. 176—180.

³ Record of Inscriptions at the Catholic Church at Patna, p. ii.

greatest city of the time in the province. Sher Shah from whose reign the greatness of Patna ranks built a fort and planned the city and from that time "Patna became the largest city of the province."¹ Akbar, who was for some time in Patna, left Munim Khan and after him Patna became the residence of the provincial governors of the Moghal emperors and was adorned with beautiful buildings. Thus it is not surprising that with the exception of two, no other inscription previous to the time of Akbar could be recorded.

But the lack of material is not only due to the fact that (ii) **Want of interest in old buildings.** the subject has to be dealt with mainly from the sixteenth century. The want of archaeological interest in the people allows the buildings to decay and no attempts have been taken in the past for their preservation. "The occupancy of men totally regardless of antiquity", says Dr. Buchanan, "soon obliterates every trace and it is only in remote and wild parts of the country that the buildings are allowed to remain undisturbed or amongst nations very far civilized that an attention is bestowed on the preservation of monuments of arts. Chehelstoon,² the palace of the viceroys of Bihar which has accommodated many personages of royal birth and which fifty years ago was in perfect preservation and occupied by the king's son, can now be traced in a few detached portions, retaining no marks of grandeur and the only remains of a court of justice that had been erected in the year of the Hijri 1142 is a stone³ commemorating the erection which was dug up in the year 1221 (A.D. 1807) when a police office was about to be erected on the spot where the other had formerly stood which in 79 years from its foundation had been completely obliterated."⁴

¹ "Tarikh Daudi"—Elliot, History of India, Vol. IV, page 478.

² Chehelstoon was to the west of the Madrasa mosque on the bank of the river in Patna City. Its western wall is still standing.

³ It is now affixed in a tomb in Khwaja Kalan police-station, vide inscription no. 26, *infra*.

⁴ Buchanan's Journal, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. VIII, parts 3 and 4, page 357; Martin's Eastern India, Vol. I, pages 42-43.

Another reason for the inscriptions being not so numerous

(iii) Scarcity of stones.

is the scarcity of stone in the locality which makes it a valuable object. Instances are numerous where for this reason stone has been carried to places far off. "The old Lakhnauti was robbed to build the medieval capital of Pandua, and later Gaur probably to build Rajmahal while in more recent times their brick and stone were transported as merchandise to Malda, Moorshedabad, Hoogly, Rungpore and even (as regards the more valuable kind of stone) to Calcutta."¹ Even in Patna "ancient carved stones of Gaur, hundreds of miles to the east are found built up into the mosques, *dargahs*, private houses and such fragments of Asoka's city of stone as have been dug up, have been turned to various ignoble uses such as *dhobis* washing stones."² When any inscription on stone comes out of its place no opportunity is lost by persons in the neighbourhood to appropriate it to their private use. Father Hosten could not find in the Patna Church 20 out of 30 tombstones mentioned by Father Anathony Mary only 45 years before although there were only seven which could not be deciphered.³ This is in spite of the fact that the church is enclosed by a high compound wall and is guarded by a gate and servants reside there permanently. The old Muslim buildings being comparatively unguarded there was a greater opportunity to rob them of their inscriptions. Thus large and ancient mosques,⁴ tombs of saints,⁵ princes⁶ and governors⁷ and other buildings⁸ have been deprived of their inscriptions which they originally must have contained.

The absence of old inscriptions is also due to the fact that

(iv) Changes during repairs. when old buildings are repaired, the repairer often removes the original to

¹ Encyclopædia Britannica, ninth edition, Vol. X, page 114, article Gaur.

² L. S. S. O'Malley, Patna Gazetteer, page 207.

³ A record of the inscriptions at Catholic Church at Patna, page vii.

⁴ e.g., Khawja Kalan mosque, Mitani Ghat mosque, Mir Jamila's mosque, etc.

⁵ e.g., Pir Mansur.

⁶ e.g., Mirza Murad.

⁷ e.g., Jahangir Quli Khan.

⁸ e.g., At the gate of the fort (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. VIII, Pts. III and IV, page 349).

replace it by his own which instead of showing the repair gloriously indicates the construction of altogether a new structure. Many mosques which were formerly known by a certain name are now called by quite a different one,¹ and if perchance the older inscription is left undisturbed and a new one affixed, both of them show the different names of the founder of the same building! ²

The condition of most of the inscriptions recorded was such that it was impossible to make out anything and some of them were said to be written in obsolete characters and even attempts to decipher them were laughed at. But on close examination it was apparent that years of deposit of dust and lime had made them illegible and after careful washing and scraping they could be easily read. The time taken for it was considerable which can be well understood from the fact that it took no less than five hours to make the old inscription of Dhai Kangura mosque (no. 18 *infra*) perfectly clear. This difficulty was also experienced by Father Gille while recording the inscriptions in Patna Church although only five of the inscriptions were prior to the nineteenth century and the oldest of them belonged to the year 1772. It took his mali "a full day to rub off the chunam and earth in which the lettering of no. 19 lay imbedded".³ Difficulty in recording the inscriptions was also experienced by the hostile attitude shown by most of the trustees and managers of the mosques and *dargahs* who wrongly thought that it was an attempt to bring them under the arms of law to deprive them of the trust properties which they were misappropriating. The ignorant mass thought that it was a part of the scheme of widening the streets and their

¹ e.g., Shaista Khan's mosque at Chowk, Patna City, is now known as Wahid Ali's mosque (vide inscription no. 102).

² Begu Hajjam's mosque has got two inscriptions, one showing the construction by Khan Maezzam Nazir Khan (Inscription no. 1) and the other by Muhammad Beg (Inscription no. 11).

³ Record of the Inscriptions at the Catholic Church at Patna, p. ii.

religious institutions would be acquired for that purpose. The doubts of such persons had to be cleared and correct motive explained to them before the work began at any place. The vastness of the area and the situation of the buildings in lanes increased the difficulty. The main thoroughfare of the old city, the only one which can tolerably be called a street, is much frequented and notice has been taken of the buildings on it but the narrow lanes and the winding alleys which join it were practically unexplored. The ignorance of people of the locality made it necessary to go through all of them to find out any inscription worth recording and although an attempt has been made to make the list complete, owing to the nature of lanes it cannot be claimed that it is exhaustive, as some of the buildings must have escaped notice specially in the eastern part of the city where the work was pushed on hastily.

The subject deals with inscriptions from the earliest time to 1857, the year of the Indian Mutiny, after which no inscriptions have been included as being comparatively modern.

**Divisions of the
subject—4 sections.**

Without denying the continuity of the subject it is convenient to divide it into four sections. The first has been taken to commence from the earliest time and to end with the death of Aurangzebe, the last of the Great Moghals in 1707, which is a prominent landmark in Indian history being the date when the Muslim power in India, then at its zenith, began to follow a rapid decline. The remaining one hundred and fifty years are divided into three periods of fifty years each. Thus the next section commencing with the death of Aurangzebe ends in 1757, another memorable year in the history of the country, when the battle of Plassey determined the fate of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and made the British supreme there. The third section ends after another fifty years, i.e., 1807 and the fourth and last commencing in that year ends in 1857 when the Indian Mutiny broke out after which the East India Company ceased to exist and the Crown assumed direct management of the country and the last of the Moghal kings was deposed and deported to

Burmah. The inscriptions belonging to later years, although numerous have not been noticed, as being modern and of little historical value.

The inscriptions of the first period are the most important

Chief characteristics:

(i) First section.

not only because they are the oldest but also as they refer to the royalties, governors, their deputies and other servants. Mostly the inscriptions themselves are beautiful and are found in buildings that are characterised by strength, beauty and grandeur. The oldest inscription found is in the mosque popularly known as Begu Hajjam's mosque on the main road in the city dating 916 A.H. = 1509-1510 A.D. The presence of this mosque goes to show that Patna was not neglected even before the days of Sher Shah. The next inscription in point of time is the octagonal headstone dated 949 A.H. = 1543 A.D. on the tomb of Muhammad Murad Shahanshah Sufi who lies buried in the compound of the mosque of Sher Shah. No other inscription has been found of pre-Akbar days. Although the Emperor Akbar was himself for sometime in Patna, he was too much engrossed with the war against Daud Khan to construct any building here. Khwaja Kalan's mosque, which bore an inscription as the construction indicates, is now without it. All other inscriptions of this section belong to the reign of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzebe. The Roza mosque (Inscription no. 20 *in/rx*) constructed by Aurangzebe is perhaps the only building in the city which is built by a Moghal emperor.

The next fifty years after the death of Aurangzebe are not marked with any great building and the reason is not far to seek. There was a succession of weak rulers who were not great builders. The governors and their deputies generally imitated their sovereigns. This accounts for the presence of so many buildings of the time of Shah Jahan who was himself fond of them and their absence during the reign of these weaklings. Azimushan, who was governor from 1704 to 1712, no

(ii) Second section.

doubt improved the fortifications and assigned separate quarters to nobles, clerks of the government and others and aspired to make the city a second Delhi, "but his ambition was cut short by the fratricidal war that broke out on the death of Aurangzeb in course of which he met his death (1712) by being swallowed up alive in quicksand". Kaleidoscopic changes took place when the Saiyid brothers began to play the part of king-makers. The Mayis pillaged the city more than once. There being no settled life it is not strange that so little material is forthcoming for the period. Only six inscriptions have been recorded, which are thus composed—four from tombs one from a mosque and one belongs to a court of justice.

After the grant of the Diwani in 1765 there was normal life in the city, so for the period 1757—

(iii) **Third section.** 1807 we have got many inscriptions from mosques and tombs. The beautiful mosque with large courtyard and fountains built by Mir Ashraf, the *gomasta* of the East India Company, and the mosque known as that of Fakhruddowla belong to this period. Ashraf Ali Khan, who was foster brother of Muhammad Shah, died in 1186 A. H. and the inscription on his tomb has been described under this head.

Sufficient material is also found for the fifty years ending with 1857 as there was perfect calm before

(iv) **Fourth section.**

the disturbance of the Mutiny. The rise of the democracy is noticeable as there are mosques built by barbers, drum-makers and the like. Co-operation is also visible as some of the mosques were built by subscription as their inscriptions indicate. Another characteristic is that many of the mosques under this section were built by women. The inscription in Golakpur mosque (no. 80) which informs that Farrukh Saiyar said his prayer there, belongs to this period.

Of the sovereigns, the names of Allauddin Hosain Shah

Important names.

(King of Bengal), Emperors Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb, Farrukh Saiyar, Shah Alam appear in the inscriptions recorded.

Prince Parvez, Abdullah Khan, Shaista Khan, Daud Khan Qurieshi, Saif Khan, Buzurg Umed Khan and Fakhruddowla are the governors whose names are found on them. Amongst others the names of grandees, noblemen (e.g., Moniruddowla, Koka Khan, Ali Ibrahim Khan, Syed Hedayet Ali Khan, Ali Qassim Khan), poets (e.g., Ibrati, Gholam Yehya), saints (e.g. Shah Arzani) appear which throw a flood of light on the local history of the time.

The inscriptions generally show the dates in chronograms according to the *Abjad* or *Jamal* system in which each of the letters has got a numeral.

Numeration of dates.

Some of the chronograms give the date according to *Bayanat*. The chronograms are also followed by date in figures. Generally the poet asks the *hatif* or the invisible informer or the wisdom or his heart about the date to which a reply is made in the chronogram. Sometimes when the figures are in excess or if there is any deficiency a hint is given in the previous lines to take out the excess or make up the deficiency, as the case may be, which is called *tania* and *takhraja*. It is also mentioned in some of the inscriptions not by way of hint but explicitly (e.g., no. 101 *intra*).

No record has been made either of the size or the kind of stone but indication has been given where the inscription is particularly large. The inscriptions are chronologically arranged and have been translated literally. The total number of inscriptions recorded is 112 which is composed as follows:—

Mosques	...	...	...	71
Idgahs	...	...	...	2
Tombs	...	...	...	35
Courts of Justice	...	...	...	2
Imambara	...	...	...	1
Bath	...	...	...	1
Total				112

SECTION I.

Inscriptions up to 1707 A. D.

No. 1.

Nazir Khan's inscription in Begu Hajjam's mosque.

The oldest Muslim inscription in Patna is that in Arabic in the mosque known as that of Begu Hajjam which was built by Khan Muazzam Nazir Khan in 916 A.H. = 1509-1510 A.D.,¹ in the reign of Allauddin Hosein Shah, King of Bengal, who built mosques and other buildings of utility in every district.² The floor of the mosque is paved with glazed tiles of Gaur and there is a beautiful stone doorway at the southern face of the mosque. The building on the other side of the road opposite to the mosque known as Satgharva or seven chambers seems to belong to the same period. Muhammad Beg who is commonly known as Begu Hajjam repaired it in 1056 A.H. = 1646 A.D. (no. 11 *infra*). The presence of this mosque, as has already been observed, indicates that Patna was not neglected even before the time of Sher Shah, who finding it to be of strategic importance built the fort and made other improvements and thus from an insignificant town it rose to a large city.

Inscription.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجداً لله بنى الله
له بيتاً مثله في الجنة بنى هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان
علاءالدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطنة
بانيه خان معظم ناظر خان دام علوه في سنة تسعمائة وستة عشر

Translation.

The prophet may the blessing of God be on him and peace said "God will make a house for him like it in the heaven who will make a mosque for God". This *Jama* mosque was built in the reign of Sultan Allaudunia-wad-din Abul Muzaffar Husain

¹ Mr. J. F. W. James gives 1499 A.D. as the date of construction and 1654 A.D. of the repair by Begu Hajjam (Patna Gazetteer) while Mr. R. L. Sinha gives 1489 and 1654 respectively (Pataliputra). Mr. Sinha has taken 1065 A.H. instead of 1056 A.H. to be the date of repair.

² Gholam Hosain Salim's Reazus Salatin, page 133.

Shah. May God preserve his dominion and rule. Founded by Khan Muazzam Nazir Khan, may his eminence be everlasting, in the year nine hundred and sixteen.

No. 2.

Muhammad Murad Shahanshah Sufi's tomb.

The mosque of Sher Shah which is situated in mahalla Dhaulpora, Patna City, is a massive structure unique in shape and construction in Patna. There is a large dome in the middle which is surrounded by four others but smaller in size which are constructed in such a way that not more than three can be seen at a time from any direction the building is observed. Inside at the base of the middle dome there are flowers made in masonry but at the four cardinal points between the flowers there seems to be inscriptions which are quite illegible from the floor. An attempt to read them from a ladder was not found possible as the persons there thought it to be dangerous as the building has become weak having suffered in earthquake and there was fear of its giving way. In the enclosed yard of the mosque near the southern gate is the tomb of Muhammad Murad Shahanshah Sufi who is regarded as a saint and his tomb is held in veneration. From the inscription on the octagonal tombstone it appears that he died in 949 A.H. = 1543 A.D. in the time of Sher Shah but the position of the tomb does not indicate that the mosque was built in his honour.

Inscription.

محمد

مراد

شهنشاه

صوفی

۹۴۹

Translation.

Muhammad

Murad

Shahanshah

Sufi

949

Nos. 3, 4, 5.

Mirza Masum's mosque.

The mosque of Mirza Masum is situated on the main road at Pachchim Darwaza at Patna City about five miles east of Gola.¹ It is a large mosque built on a high plinth with shops to the north of it. The gate of the mosque has six carved blocks of stones which seem to belong to Gaur. The chronogram on the stone inscription gives 1023 A.H. (1614 A.D.) as the date of the construction but inside the hall there are two inscriptions in Arabic one of which is followed by the date 1025 A.H. It is possible that the work inside the hall was finished two years later.

The inscription on stone.²

بدور شاه جهانگیر میرزا معصوم
بساختم مسجد جامع بفیض باد رفیق
چو رسال او خرد خوراستیم زهاتف غیب
ندا رسید که بیت العتیق شد تحقیق

Translation.

In the time of Emperor Jahangir, Mirza Masum
Constructed the *Jama* mosque with the favourable
circumstances.

When I wanted the date of its construction from the
invisible speaker,

A voice said that verily it had become the "Old House".³

The inscription inside the hall above *mihrab* is the following.⁴

یا ایها الذین آمنوا اذا نودی للصلاة من یوم الجمعة فاسعوا
الی ذکر الله وذر البیع ذالکم خیر لکم ان کنتم تعلمون ۝ فاذا قضیت
الصلاة فانکثروا فی الارض وابتغوا من فضل الله ۝ ۱۰۴۵

¹ Gola or the granary erected in 1786 is a very prominent landmark in Patna from which distances are calculated and mile and furlong stones set up on the roads of the city.

² This inscription has also been given in an article on mosques of Patna in Patna College Magazine (March 1913. p. 93) but some words have been wrongly recorded and the translation is incorrect.

³ Old House meaning Kaaba, the temple at Mecca.

⁴ This is from the Holy Quran, chapter LXII, entitled the "Assembly".

Translation.

O. true believers, when you are called to prayer on the day of assembly, hasten to the commemoration of God, and leave merchandizing. This will be better for you if ye knew it. And when prayer is ended then disperse yourselves through the land as ye list, and seek gain of the liberality of God.¹
1025 A.H.

Below it is the following inscription :—

فناد الملائكة وهو قديمه يصلى فى المحراب²

Translation.

The angel called them when they were praying in the *mihrab*.

Nos. 6 and 7.**Mausoleum of Shah Arzani.**

The mausoleum of Shah Arzani, who is held in great reverence by both Hindus and Muhammadans, is situated in mohalla Dargah, south of Sultangunge, about two miles east of Gola. Shah Arzani died in 1028 A.H.=1619 A.D.

Inscription.

رفت قطب زمان به آسانی * بریاض بهشت نرانی
سال فوتش زفیض ملهم غیب * گفت دل شاد جنت ارزانی
سنه ۱۰۲۸

Translation.

The universal saint passed away peacefully

To the effulgent garden of paradise.

With the favour of mysterious inspiration about the date of his death

The heart said " Beautiful paradise of Arzani."

1028

At the outer gate of the mausoleum is the following inscription :—

بهر تاریخ درگمش رفتم * پاک درگاه خاص حق گفتم
سنه ۱۰۵۲

¹ G. Sale's translation.

² This is from the Holy Quran, Part III, Chapter III, entitled Family of Imran, part of verse 9.

Translation.

I went to the threshold for the date,
I said "It is the holy door of pure truth" 1052.

No. 8.**Stone Mosque.¹**

The Pathar-ki-masjid or the stone mosque which is on the main road three miles east of Gola was built by Prince Parvez. The date on the inscription is 1036 A.H. = 1626 A.D. but as Prince Parvez died on 6th Safar 1035 A.H. at Burhanpore it seems that although he began the construction it was finished after his death. Prince Parvez was the son of Emperor Jahangir and was Governor of Bihar from 1621 to 1624. The materials for the mosque were brought from Majhowli in Gorakhpur district.

Inscription.

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
در عهد نور چشم جهانگیر بادشاه
پرزیز شاه عادل و باذل بعقل راه
کیخسرو زمانه و جمشید سلطنت
بر تخت مملکت چوسکندر جهان کشاء
کرد این بنائے خاص بنظر شویشگی که هست
در پیرزی شرع محمد چو کوه پائے
مسما ساخت قلعه مچھوئی و بتکده
رز سنگ و چرب بتکده شد این نکر بنائے
کردم سوال سال بنایش زیبر عقل
گفتا بگو خرامی خیر المقام جائے
سنه ۱۰۳۶

Translation.

There is no God but God and Mohammad is His prophet.
In the reign of Emperor Jahangir, the light of the eye,
The just, generous, wise and intelligent Parvez Shah,

¹ The inscription from this mosque has also been given in an article on mosques of Patna in Patna College Magazine (March 1913, page 95) but some words are wrongly recorded and no translation has been given.

Kai Khusro ¹ of his time, and Jamshed ² of his Kingdom (who)
On the royal throne (is) like the world conquering Alexander
Constructed this choice building under his supervision and
which is

As firm as a rock in the pursuit of the precepts of
Mohammad.

He demolished the fort and temple of Majhowli

And from the stone and wood of the temple

Was constructed this beautiful building.

I asked about the date of construction from the old
wisdom,

Which said "Say, It is a place to walk to paradise"

1036 A.H.

No. 9.

Idgah of Saif Khan.

Saif Khan who was Governor of Bihar from 1621—1631
built this spacious idgah which is situated about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles east
of Gola between the Main Road and Inglis Road. His real
name was Mirza Safi and he had married Malika Bannu, the
eldest sister of Mumtaz Mahal, the lady of the Taj. He built
this idgah in 1038 A.H.=1628-29 A. D. as the chronogram
in the inscription shows. He also built the *madrasa* and the
large mosque near it the inscription of which has also been
recorded.³

Inscription.

شکر ایزد کاین بنائے دلکش را بے نظیر
شد بعہد ثانی صاحب قرآن شاہجہان
شاہ جم حشمت شہاب الدین محمد بادشاہ
آنکہ حکمش را مستخر شد زمین و آسمان
سیف خان آن داور دانا دل رالا شکوہ
شد بترفیق الہی بانی این عرش مکان
زینت ارجان فزا تر از ہوائے باغ خلہ
وسعت از دلکش تر از حیات جاردان
چون عطای خواست تاریخ بنایش گفت دل
دائیمہ بادا بنائے عیدگاہ سیف خان

¹ and ² Kai Khusro and Jamshed were two famous Kings of Persia.

³ Vide no. 10, *infra*.

Translation.

Thank God that this matchless and beautiful building.
Was constructed in the reign of Shah Jahan Sahebkarān II¹
Emperor Shahabuddin Mohammad² a king like Jam³ in
dignity,

To whose orders even land and sky have become obedient.
Saif Khan, that wise ruler, with a magnificent heart,
By God's grace became the founder of this heaven-like
structure.

Its elegance is more life increasing than the breeze of the
garden of paradise,

Its space is more exhilarating than the eternal life.

When Atai wanted the date of construction, the heart said,

" May the foundation of the Idgah of Saif Khan remain for
ever. "

No. 10.**Madrasa mosque.**

The Madrasa mosque is situated by the Ganges about 6½
miles east of the Gola. This beautiful and large mosque and
the madrasa (school) building near it were built in 1039 A.H. =
1629-30 A.D. by Saif Khan who built the Idgah the inscription
which is recorded above (no. 9). Its beautiful situation " made
the place so remarkable for its coolness, retirement, salubrity
and umbrage that it became the general resort of the best
company⁴". There was richly decorated writing inside the
mosque running along the walls which has now been obliterated,
the only lines left are the chronogram which gives the date of
construction as 1039 A.H. and those which show the names of
the founder of the building and the scribe.

¹ Sahebkarān means the lord of conjunction i.e., one born under peculiarly
favourable aspect of the planets, as was the case with Timurlane who is called as
such by his biographers. Timurlane being the first Sahebkarān, Shah Jahan is
styled as the second.

² Shahabuddin Mohammad was the real name of Shah Jahan. He assumed
the latter name after his accession to the throne.

³ Name of the ancient king of Persia famous for pomp and dignity.

⁴ Syeiral Mutagrin, Vol. I, page 489 (English Translation, 1789 Edition).

Inscription.

صفی خدا سیفخان آنکہ توفیق
.....
.....
بگفتا کہ مجموعہ خیر دنیا
.....

کذبہ محمد علی کشمیری غفر اللہ ذنوبہ پیر کار این عمارت

Translation.

Saif Khan, the friend of God, by whose grace * *
* * * * *
He said " A collection of wordly benefactions " ¹ * *
* * * * *
written by Mohammad Ali Kashmiri. May God forgive his
sins ! The decorator of this building * * ²

No. 11.**Mohammad Beg's inscription in Begu Hajjam's mosque.**

Nazir Khan's inscription in the Begu Hajjam's mosque has already been described above (no. 1). The mosque has another inscription of the year 1056 A.H. = 1646 A.D. by Mohammad Beg. who repaired it. The inscription unfortunately instead of indicating the repairs shows that the mosque itself was built by him.

Inscription.

ساختمه بیگ محمد نیک راے
معبد در شهر پٹنہ خوش نماے
گفت معمار خود تاریخ آن
مسجد زیبا و روشن شد بناے
سنہ ۱۰۵۶

¹ ساخته بیگ محمد نیک راے is the chronogram which gives 1039 as the date of construction.

² It seems that there were some more lines in 1913 which do not exist now. In an article on the mosques of Patna in the Patna College Magazine (March 1913) the following lines of the inscription are given :—

Saif-i-Khudā Saif Khan ānke tawfiq * * * —sash shud wa sākhhtash (?)
Kashe ānke (?) Bamulk-i-Bihar az imarat-i-āli, Barah-i-Khuda sākhht
chande * * * Namāz-i-tahajjud guzarand shuma, Ke guftah (?)
..... inja Begufta ke majmua-i-khair duniā Kutabah-i-
Mohammad Ali Kashmiri, ghafarallah zunubuhu... wa ... sarkar
(?) i-in-imarāt.

Translation.

The wise Beg Mohammad constructed
 This beautiful place of worship in the city of Patna.
 The architect wisdom said its date,
 " A beautiful and splendid mosque was built "

1056.

No. 12.**Haji Chand's mosque.**

The mosque of Haji Chand is in Colonelgunj about four miles east of Gola. It is cut off from the main road by a few shops. The mosque which is itself beautiful and large has got a fine inscription on a big slab of black stone. Haji Chand is mentioned in it as Shaista Khani but how he was related to him is not made out. Shaista Khan was Governor from 1639 to 1648 A.D. The mosque was built in 1056 A.H. = 1646 A.D.

Inscription.

الله محمد ابوبکر عمر عثمان علي	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	الله محمد ابوبکر عمر عثمان علي
معنوي از پے تاریخ بنائیش چون کمان خم شده میگرد اعدان*	معمري از پے تاریخ بنائیش چون کمان خم شده میگرد اعدان*	یافته عمر ابد هرکه بدهر داد جود رکرم از دانش داد *
آخرش امر یک افزون یافت بقعه خیر همی باد آباد ¹ *	آخرش امر یک افزون یافت بقعه خیر همی باد آباد ¹ *	زین سبب کرد بنا حاجی چاند مسجدے تا اثرش ماند یاد *
بانی المسجد العالی حاجی چاند شایسته خانمی کتبہ عبد الرسول الحسنی الف رخمسین رسته سنه ۱۰۵۶		

¹ بقعه خیر همی باد آباد gives 1057 but there is a hint in the previous line that it is greater by one.

Translation.

God, Mohammad, Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman, Ali.	There is no God but God and Mohammad is His prophet.	God, Mohammad, Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman, Ali.
Whoever in this world became generous and wisely made gift from beneficence and liberality got eternal life. For this reason Haji Chand founded this mosque that his mark may be remembered.	When for the chronogram of its date of construction Manvi was making calculations bending himself like a bow, After all he found one increasing from "May this house of goodness be ever populous".	

The founder of this great mosque is Haji Chand Shaista Khani. Inscribed by Abdur Rasul Hasani.¹ One thousand fifty-six 1056.

No. 13.**A tombstone in a Shaikh Rajab's Mosque.**

In Shaikh Rajab's mosque which is situated in *mahalla* Fasahat-ka-maidan about one half mile west of Patna City school, there is an old tombstone dating 1059 A.H.=1649 A.D., which was probably brought from the grave yard of the Kazis which is near-by. When Shaikh Rajab built the mosque about 150 years ago he thought that an inscription was necessary for it, as many other mosques had, but being an illiterate man did not realise its significance and instead of having one describing the construction he brought it from one of the graves and affixed it in the mosque. When the mosque was extended and rebuilt about thirty years ago the inscription which was out of place was removed and it is kept there ever since. The mason in removing it has injured it very much and many of the words are missing.

Inscription.

یکهزار و پنچ رنه - گذشته بود کین غم بهر دل افزود
 سراسر همت و سرتا قدم بود
 فانی - بملک چاروانی رفت از زود
 بیچستم از خرد سال - خرد گفتا که تاریخش زغم بود
 قایله لطف الله - کتبه غریب مہی الدین

¹ Abdur Rasul's son Mohammad Moqim engraved inscription no. 16 which is also large and beautiful.

Translation.

..... one thousand and fifty-nine
 Had passed that sorrow increased in the heart.....
 He was courage from top to toe
 Mohammad... ..transitory
 He soon passed to the dominion of eternity.
 I enquired of wisdom about the date of the death,
 Wisdom said that its date "was from sorrow".
 Composed by Lutfullah. Inscribed by poor Mohiuddin.

No. 14.**Doondi Bazar Mosque.**

The mosque known as the Doondi Bazar mosque called after the quarter of the city of Patna where it is situated is about a furlong west of the Mangle's Tank in Patna City. It is a unique mosque in the city as it has only one dome. It was built in 1061 A.H.=1651 A.D.

Inscription.

ساخت خوشنود از پے خوشنودی حق مسجدے
 نر شرف کرر بیای در بند صحنش راز بال
 بهر تاریخ بنائے او خرد گفت از ادب
 قبلہ ارباب طاعت کعبہ اصحاب حال

سنہ ۱۰۶۱ھ

Translation.

Such a mosque was built for the delight of God
 That the angels for their honour sweep its floor by (the lock
 of) their hair.
 The wisdom said respectfully for its date of construction,
 "An altar for the worshippers, a temple for the apostles of
 ecstasy,"

1061 A. H.

No. 15.**Shah Sajawal's mausoleum.**

Shah Sajawal was the successor of the saint Shah Arzani the inscription on whose mausoleum has already been noticed (no. 6). Shah Sajawal died in 1064 A.H.=1653-1654 A.D. and his mausoleum is in the compound of Shah Arzani.

Inscription.

عشق مرلا سجادل شاه شاه دین پناه *
 چون ازین دار فنا شد جانب دارالسلام
 سال تاریخ وفات آن سریر آراے فقر *
 گفت دل جایافته برمسند وصل ۱۰۱۴
 درسنه ۱۰۶۴ هـ

Translation.

When Shah Sajawal, the lover of God, and the royal
 bulwark of religion

Passed away from this transient world to the abode of peace,
 The heart said the date of the death of that king of the
 saints,

"He found place on the chair of the society of Imam,"

In 1064 A.H.

Nos. 16 & 17.**Dargah mosque.**

The large mosque which is south-east of the dargah of Shah
 Arzani (no. 6) was built in 1070 A.H. by the door keeper of
 Nawab Abdullah Khan, who was governor from 1637 to 1639
 A.D. The inscription which is very beautiful is on a large slab
 of black stone and is in Arabic. It does not give the name of
 the founder but says that the mosque was built by the door
 keeper of Abdullah Khan. It is possible that the founder
 might have been in the service of the governor and out of
 humility he styled himself as the door keeper. There is another
 inscription on the masonry inside the hall.

Inscription on stone.

وان المساجد لله
 فلا تدع مع الله احد
 بانی هذا المسجد العالی دربان نواب عبداللہ خانی کتبہ
 محمد مقیم ولد میر سید عبدالرسول سنہ ۱۰۷۰ ہجری

Translation.

Verily mosques are for God,
 Do not call any body equal to God.

The founder of this great mosque is the door keeper of Nawab Abdullah Khan. Inscribed by Mohammad Mogim, son of Mir Syed Abdur Rasul.¹ 1070 Hijri.

Inscription on masonry.

قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفواً احد²

Translation.

Say, God is one God ; the eternal God, he begetteth not, neither is he begotten : and there is not any one like unto him.³

No. 18.

Dhai Kangura Mosque.

The Dhai Kangura mosque or the mosque having two turrets and a half is so named because it has a stone slab in the roof resembling two and a half turrets. It is in Dhaulpora, a quarter of Patna City about 6½ miles south-east of Gola. It was built in 1072 A.H. by one Mirza Noori.

Inscription.

ساخت مسجد مرزا نورى آنچنان
وصف او شد در جهان افسانه
قدسيان شادند از تاريخ آن
بهر ايزد چون بنا شد خانه
سنة هزار هفتاد و در

Translation.

Mirza Noori built such a mosque
That it became famous throughout the world ;
The pious are happy from that date
When the house was built for God.⁴

The year one thousand and seventy-two.

¹ Abdur Rasul inscribed no. 12 in Haji Chand's mosque.

² Holy Quran Chapter CXII, entitled " The declaration of God's unity".

³ This is G. Sale's translation.

⁴ The part of the line *چون بنا شد خانه* gives the date 1072

No. 19.

Court of Justice (Jafar's).

There was a court of justice where the Khwaja Kalan police-station now stands. It was built by Jafar who was in the service of Daud Khan as the inscription which is now in the building of the police-station shows. Daud Khan Kuraishi was governor from 1660 to 1665 A.D. The court of justice was built in 1074 A.H.=1664 A.D. as the inscription indicates. It was rebuilt in the time of Nawab Fakhruddowla by Hasan Ali the inscription of which is also recorded (no. 26).

Inscription.

بهر عدل و داد مظلومان زدست ظالمان
ساخت دارالعدل جعفر بنده داؤد خان
سنه ۱۰۷۴

Translation.

For justice and equity of the oppressed against the hands of the oppressor,

Jafar the servant of Daud Khan built this court of justice.
1074.

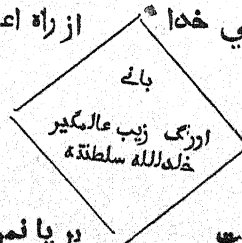
No. 20.

Roza Mosque.

The mosque called the Roza mosque is situated near the *roza* or tombs of two saints Taj and Mangan. Aurangzebe built this mosque in 1078 A.H.=1668 A.D. There are many tombs near the mosque and there is an *akhara* attached to it. The inscription on stone outside the hall is chronogram and gives 1078 A.H. as the date of construction. There are also some verses from the Quran above *mihrab* on the masonry but without any date.

Inscription on stone.

آراست مسجد از بنم خشنودگی خدا
از راه اعتقاد شهنشاه کامران



تاریخ او خود بهزاران نیاز گفت
بر پا نمود کعبه حاجات درجهان
باهتمام انیس احمد

Translation.

The fortunate Emperor out of belief constructed this mosque for the delight of God.

The wisdom with much supplication said its chronogram
"He showed a Kaaba for necessities in this world"

Under the superintendence of Anis Ahmad.

In the middle of the inscription—

Founder Aurangzebe, Alamgir, may God perpetuate his kingdom.

No. 21.**Ambar's Mosque.¹**

The mosque built by Khwaja Ambar, *nazir* of Shaista Khan, the Governor of Bihar,¹ is on the main road about 6½ miles east of Gola. This beautiful mosque was built in 1100 A.H.²=1688-89 A.D.

Inscription.

در زمان پادشاه دین پناه
شاه عالمگیر غازی ذوالکرم
خواجہ عنبر ناظر شایستہ خان
مسجد نو ساخت چوں بیت الحرم
مظہر الحق سال تاریخ بذایش
معدن فیض الہی زد رقمہ
۱۱۰۰

Translation.

In the time of the Emperor who was bulwark of religion
Shah Alamgir, the victorious and generous,
Khwaja Amber, the *nazir* of Shaista Khan
Built this new mosque like the Holy House.³
For its date of construction Mazharul Haque
Wrote "A mine for the bounty of God"

1100.

No. 22.**Buzurg Umed Khan's Mosque.**

The large and beautiful mosque in Nagla, a quarter of the city of Patna about 7½ miles east of Gola, a little to the south of

¹ The inscription from this mosque is also described in an article in Patna College Magazine for March 1913 at page 94.

² Mr. R. L. Sinha (Patliputra, page 43) gives 1108 A.H.

³ i.e., Kaaba, the temple at Mecca.

the main road which is generally known as Pather-ki-masjid or the stone mosque was built in 1100 A.H.=1688-89 A.D. by Buzurg Umed Khan who was Governor from 1685 to 1693 A.D. It is partly built of stone and stands on a high plinth and it seems that it was surrounded by garden. The people of the locality say that formerly the road passed near the mosque but has been diverted after the mutiny.

Inscription.

تاج و العشمت بزرگ امید خان
آن که بر خلق جهان کرمش عمیم
چون ز هاتف خراست تاریخش نجف
زری گفتا باد بیت المستقیم
۱۱۰۰

Translation.

Buzurg Umed Khan, (is) the Crown and the dignity
Whose generosity is common for all the people of the world.
When Najaf wanted the date of its construction from the
latent informer,
He said immediately " May it be an erect house "

1100.

No. 23.

Sultangunj Mosque.

The mosque at Sultangunj on the main road about 2 miles and 6 furlongs east of Gola was built by Tajo, the wife of Shaikh Badri. About 40 years ago there was some litigation about it and some words and the date in the inscription were mutilated but the last line which is a chronogram gives 1114 A.H.=1701 A.D. as the date.

Inscription.

شیخ بدری زنش تاجو نام
خداست * * *
مسجدے ساخت همچو بیت حرام
گفت هاتف ز غیب این پیغام

Translation.

Shaikh Badri whose wife's name is Tajo
God is, * * *
She constructed this house like the sacred House.
The latent informer mysteriously said "this message".¹

¹ این پیغام which means " this message " gives the date 1114.

Translation.

He, who was illustrious in the life of resignation
 Passed away to the garden of paradise,
 Shah Shahbaz the perfect holy man
 Who was daring in the path of acquiescence to God.
 The bird of the lote tree ¹ said this chronogram
 " He was a falcon ² soaring in heaven "

1126.

No. 26.**Hassan Ali's court of justice.**

The court of justice built by Jafar who was in the service of Daud Khan Qureshi has been already noticed (no. 19). It was either repaired or rebuilt by Hassan Ali who was in service of Nawab Fakhruddowla, governor from 1725 to 1729 A.D. No trace of the building now remains and its inscription which is dated 1142 A.H. is at present affixed in one of the tombs in the Khwja Kalan police-station where the court of justice stood. The tombs are said to be of the kazis or judges of the court. This is the stone referred by Buchanan Hamilton in his report ³ while describing how soon even traces of large buildings in India are obliterated.

Inscription.

بندہ نواب فخرالدولہ ممدوح زمان
 آنکہ در نامش حسن را با علی باشد قرآن
 ساخت دار العدل جائینکر مناسب داد
 در هزار و یکصد و چهل و دو بناکرد * تاریخ آن

¹ By سدرة which means lote tree is meant سدرة المنتهى the lote tree in the heaven.

² There is a pun on the word Shahbaz which means a falcon and which was also the name of the saint.

³ Buchanan's report, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. VIII, parts III and IV, page 357, Mr. R. L. Sinha in his nice articles on the buildings of Patna in " Pataliputra ", page 42, wrongly mentions that the stone was found near the Chehelstoon. The mistake seems to have arisen by the fact that Buchanan cited both Chehelstoon and this court of justice as examples of buildings soon forgotten in India and a police-station also stands near the site of the Chehelstoon.

* بناکرد is not clear in the inscription.

Translation.

The servant of praiseworthy Nawab Fakhruddowla.

Who has got Hasan in conjunction with Ali in his name ¹

Constructed this court of justice, a fine place for administration of justice ;

Its date of construction is one thousand, one hundred and forty-two.

No. 27.

Malsalami Mosque.

The mosque near the Malsalami police-station on the main road about seven miles east of Gola was built in 1150 A.H. by one Abdur Rahman Sajjad.

Inscription.

از فضل الله عبد الرحمان سجاد
با صدق و صفا نمود مسجد بنیاد
باقر بدعا بگفت تاریخ
این خانه دیں همیشه آباد

۱۱۵۰

Translation.

By God's grace Abdur Rahman Sajjad,

Founded this mosque with truth and piety ;

Baqar praying, said this chronogram,

" May this house of religion be always populous."

1150.

No. 28.

Shah Basant's mausoleum.

The mausoleum of Shah Basant, who was third in succession to Shah Arzani, is within the compound of Shah Arzani at *mahalla* Dargah about two miles east of Gola. He died in 1158 A.H.

Inscription.

کرد رحلت چارشنبه نوزده ماه رجب
گفت هاتف عارف یزدان بسنت عالی نسب

۱۱۵۸

¹ Hassan was the grandson of the prophet and Ali his father, was the prophet's son-in-law.

Translation.

He died on Wednesday the nineteenth Rajab.

The latent informer said "Basant the saint of God and of high parentage "

1158.

No. 29.

Rahimunnissa's Tomb.

There is a tomb of a Muslim lady in the compound of Patna City charitable dispensary. The lady, whose name was Rahimunnissa and who was the daughter of Muhammad Yusuf Meshedi died in 1160 A.H.

Inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 تاريخ وفات مرحومة مسماة رحيم النساء بنت آقا محمد يرسف
 مشهدي يازدهم شهر محرم الحرام سنة ١١٦٠ الهـ اغفر لها وتجاوز عنها
 سيئاتها واحشرها مع النبي وعلي وفاطمة والحسن والحسين
 وجميع الائمة المعصومين صلوة الله وسلامه عليهم اجمعين

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.

Date of the death of Musammat Rahimunnissa, deceased—the daughter of master Muhammad Yusuf Meshedi—11th of the month of holy Moharram 1160. Oh God forgive her, and pardon her sins and congregate her on the day of resurrection with the prophet, Ali, Fatma, Hassan and Hosain and all the innocent *imams*. May the blessings of God and peace be on all of them!

SECTION III.**Inscriptions from 1757 to 1807 A. D.**

No. 30.

Moniruddowla's tomb.

Nawab Moniruddowla's tomb is in the house of Nawab Vilayet Ali Khan in mahalla Guzri, Patna City. Moniruddowla's real name as the inscription indicates was Gholam Reza and his full title was "Moniruddowla Reza Cooli Khan Nadyr

Junge"¹. He was the minister of Shah Alam and under the modest title of the steward of the household was his most trusted counsellor. After the battle of Baxar he assisted in the negotiations with the English which led to the grant of Diwani in August 1765.² He died in 1173 A. H. as the chronogram indicates at Benares but was buried here.³ His family⁴ was once one of the greatest land owners in the district but although little is now left it still enjoys high social standing in Patna.⁵

Inscription.

چونکہ نواب منیرالدولہ گردوں و قار
داعی حق را اجابت گفت و پنهان کرد در
خلق عالم هر طرف در ماتم آن ذیجناب
دائما در سوگواری و فغان جستجو
بر در جفت معینش شد امام هشتمین
چونکہ نامش بد رضا و هم غلام خاص او
ثامن اثنای عشر چو شد معین و رهبرش
داد رضوان بهشت آراز طبتم ناد خلوا

Translation.

As Nawab Moniruddowla of lofty position
Responded to the call of God and hid his face,
The people of the world lamented for him everywhere,
Always mourning and full of grief.
The eighth imam became his guide at the door of the
paradise.

¹ Syerul Mutakhrin, volume 2, page 110.

² H. Beveridges' "The City of Patna" (Calcutta Review, Volume LXXVI, 1883.)

³ After his death the title of Nawab Moniruddowla was given to his son and from a return, dated the 20th April 1782, it appears that his son was given Ba wank, Rampur, Shahjahanpore, out of estates confiscated from Raja Kyaslliram—J. Reginald Hand, Early English Administration of Bihar, 1781—1785, page 32.

⁴ It is now called the Bhiknapahari family.

⁵ Patna Gazetteer (J.F.W. James), page 138.

Because his name was Reza¹ and he was his chosen servant.

When the eighth of the twelve (*imams*) became his leader and guide,

The angel of paradise cried "You have become holy. Enter in it".²

No. 31.

Mir Afzal's Tomb.

The burying ground of Mir Afzal which is now known as the burying ground of Mir Ashraf³ is at Chowk Shikarpore, Patna City, about 6½ miles east of Gola. Mir Afzal who was probably father⁴ of Mir Ashraf, died in 1174 A.H. His tomb along with that of his son is within an enclosure over the entrance of which is the inscription. Mir Afzal who was a Kashmirian merchant was buried at the feet of the saint Shah Rustam Ali who also lies buried in the said enclosure. "It was for this following reason: The Merchant, who intended to embrace the same kind of life, and was attached to him personally, got him buried in that spot which he had bought for his own burial; and on his deathbed he ordered that himself should be buried at his feet".⁵

¹ Ali Reza was the eighth imam.

² The chronogram *طهيم فاد خلو* gives 1173 as the date of his death.

³ Mohammad Hasibullah's *Tazkira-tus-Salhin*, page 10.

⁴ In spite of best efforts I could not learn from anybody the relationship of Mir Afzal with Mir Ashraf but there are certain facts which indicate that Mir Afzal was the father of Mir Ashraf. Both of them have the affix Mir and both of them lie buried within the same inclosure. The burying ground of the father which was once known after him, is after the burial of his son known after him (the son). The inscription of the date of death of Mir Ashraf (no. 35) has the words *افضل نسب* which means "of high extraction", as well as "of the extraction of Afzal". Mr. James while describing the river front at Patna in 1812 thinks that in Buchanan's map the word Afzal has been used by mistake for Ashraf and the diara surveyor correctly gives Ashraf (J. B. O. R. S., Volume XI, part I, page 89). It seems that in Buchanan's map the name of the father has been given while in surveyor's that of the son. Mir Afzal who was a big trader of his time was not less known than his son who was a gomasta of the company. But this Mir Afzal is a distinct person from Mir Afzal whose tomb is in Golakpur and after whom the name of a quarter of Patna, viz., Afzalpur, is derived.

⁵ Syarul Mutakbrin, Volume I, pages 697-698. (English translation, 1789 edition).

Inscription.

هو الله اكبر جل جلاله و عم نواله و عظيم شانہ ر اعلى برهانه
 اللهم اغفر للمؤمنين و المؤمنات و المسلمين و المسلمات يا
 مجيب الدعوات

در جنت كشاده رضوان گفت مير افصل بيا كه منتظرم

۱۱۷۳

Translation.

God is Great, Majestic is His dignity, Common is His grace,
 Supreme is His proof.

Oh God pardon the faithful men and women and Muslim
 men and women! Oh the acceptor of prayers!

The angel of paradise opening its gate said.

"Come on Mir Afzal, I am waiting for you"

1174.

No. 32.**Shah Karimullah's Mausoleum.**

Shah Karimullah who was fourth in succession of Shah
 Arzani died in the year 1185 A.H. and was buried in the
 compound of Shah Arzani where his mausoleum was erected over
 his tomb.

Inscription.

مالک ملک فقر شاهنشاه زده در کشور بقا خروگاه
 گفت تاريخ رحلتش تقدير يافت قرب نبی کریم الله
 سنه ۱۱۸۵

Translation.

The lord of the province of saintliness, rather its emperor,
 Pitched his camp in the country of eternity.

Fate said his date of death,

"Karimullah found proximity to the prophet."

1185.

No. 33.**Koka Khan's Tomb.**

To the east of the mosque of Sher Shah in Dhaulpora about
 6½ miles east of Gola is the tomb of Ashraf Ali Khan *alias*
 Koka Khan who was the foster brother of Emperor Mohammad
 Shah. Koka Khan was famous for his witty sayings and pointed

jokes which were sometimes aimed at Mohammad Shah, which necessitated his exile from Delhi to Patna where he died in 1186 A.H.

Inscription.

کوکہ خان آن بہار باغ سخن
سورے خلد بریں زندیا رفت
کرد مفتون چو فکر تاریخش
گفت ہاتف سرور دلہا رفت

۱۱۸۶ھ

Translation.

Koka Khan that beauty of the garden of language
Went away from the world to paradise.
When Maftun thought of its chronogram
The latent informer said "The delight of hearts passed away"
1186 A.H.

No. 34.

Mir Ashraf's mosque.

The mosque of Mir Ashraf which was built in 1187 A.H. is in Chowk Shikarpore in the same compound in which he and his father lie buried. It is a very large and beautiful mosque with a big compound, in the middle of which is a reservoir and a fountain. The mosque is paved with Gaur tiles.

Inscription.

چون بعہدہ خجستہ حامی دین شاہ عالم بہادر باداد
مسجدے همچو کعبہ اشرف معدن فیض خوش شدہ بنیاد
یا الہی ببانیش رحمہ ت کن کہ باعث شدہ بخیر معاد
بانگ تاریخ گفت ہاتف غیب تا جہان اشرف المساجد باد

۱۱۸۷

Trans ation.

When it was the auspicious reign of the defender of the faith,
Shah Alam, the valiant and the just,
This mosque like the holy Kaaba
A fountain of benevolence was beautifully constructed,

—O God ! be merciful to the founder
 For this has been a cause of his happy return
 (to the next world)
 The latent informer exclaimed the cry of its date,
 " May it be the best of the mosques till the world lasts."
 1187.

No. 35.

Mir Ashraf's Tomb.

The tomb of Mir Ashraf lies in the same compound in which his mosque is. The inscription of date of his death is on the gate of the enclosure where also is the inscription of that of Mir Afzal. Mir Ashraf died in 1189 A.H.

Inscription.

يا رحيم يا غفار يا كريم
 چو افضل نسب سيد ناصر بدارالبقا شد ز ملك عدم
 چو گل پيرهن چالك رضوان بگفت ديا مير اشرف ميان ارم
 1189

Translation.

O Merciful ! O, Forgiver ! O Benevolent !
 When that famous Syed¹ of high extraction
 Went to the permanent abode from the transient place,
 The angel of paradise flower like torn of his garment said,
 " Mir Ashraf come in the paradise."
 1189.

No. 36.

A lady's tomb in Mir Ashraf's compound.

To the south-west of the enclosure in which are the tombs of Mir Afzal and Mir Ashraf (nos. 29 and 33) there is a tomb of a lady on a high platform along with others which has an inscription from which it appears that she died in 1189.

Inscription.²

الله اكبر
 لاله الا الله محمد رسول الله

¹ The descendants of the prophet are called Syeds.

² After لاله الا الله محمد رسول الله there are some lines in Arabic which could not be read.

تاریخ عرش جائے رضوان بگوش جانم
گفتا کہ رالفاطمہ فی جنت ما را

۱۱۸۹

Translation.

God is Great.

There is no God but God and Muhammad is His prophet.

The angel in the ear of my heart said the date of her reaching the paradise (thus)

“ Verily Fatma is in paradise of rest. ”

1189.

Nos. 37-39.

Shish Mahal mosque.

In Shish Mahal, a quarter of the city about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Gola, there is a mosque called Shish Mahal mosque which was built by Syed Ibrahim in 1190 A.H. There are three inscriptions two of which have come out from the building and are kept there.

Inscription.¹

از حیدر بخش	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	من ظله العالی
سید ابراهیم عالی جاہ ماہ	کرد بیت الله بنا دلخواہ ما	
مصرع دلخواہ را کردم درست	بیت ابراهیم بیت الله ما	
دمہ	ذالک مقام ابراهیم	سنہ ۱۱۹۰ هـ

¹ both are chronograms and give 1190 A. H. as the date. The word in the lower right-hand corner of the inscription could not be read.

Translation.¹

By Hazrat Haidar Baksh.	In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.	May his great- ness prosper long.
<p>Our exalted Syed Ibrahim Constructed this house of God which is pleasant to us. I set this beautiful line "For us the house of Abraham is the house of God."²</p>		
...	"This is the place of Abraham."	1190 A. H.

Inscription.³

قائمه غلام يحيى	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	كاتبه محمد علي
در ابجد	مسجد ابراهيم از عذات كريم آباد باد	سنة ۱۱۹۰ هـ

Translation.

Composed by Gholam Yehya.	In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.	Inscribed by Mohammad Ali.
In Abjad ...	"May the mosque of Ibrahim flourish by the bounty of God."	1190.

¹ The corners of the inscription are to be read together.

² The founder of this mosque was Ibrahim or Abraham and there is a pun on it as Abraham constructed the Kaaba, the temple at Mecca.

³ It seems that the engraver began with the reverse side of the slab but left it, for the following inscription is on that side.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Inscription,

۱۱۹۰	ذکر المسجد مسجد الحرام	در بنیات
سنه ۱۱۹۰ هـ	مسجد ابراهیم درجه دارن یکعبه ابراهیم	در ابجد و بنیات

Translation.

In Bayanat.	"This mosque is the Holy Mosque."	1190.
In Abjad and Bayanat.	"The mosque of Ibrahim has the position of Abraham's Kaaba."	1190

No. 40.

Gurhatta Bari Masjid (Mosque).

In Gurhatta, a quarter of the city about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Gola, on the main road is the mosque known as Gurhatta Bari Masjid or the big mosque of Gurhatta which was built in 1191 A.H.

Inscription. ¹

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 ابوبکر و عمر عثمان و حیدر
 زمان سلطنت بادشاه عالم شاه
 که گمراهان جهان را نموده راه یقین
 هزار و صد و نود و یک زسال هجرت بود
 که کون راه جهان این بناے اخانه دین

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.

There is no God but God and Mohammad is his prophet.

¹ This inscription has also been described in Patna College Magazine (March 1913, page 93).

Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and Haider.¹

During the reign of Emperor Alam Shah

When the strayed persons of the world were shown the
correct path,

It was one thousand one hundred ninety-one of the Hijri era
That the wisdom of the world founded this house of religion.

No. 41.

Danka-ki-Imli Mosque.

The mosque known as Danka-ki-Imli mosque is in Danka-ki-Imli, a quarter of the city about 5 miles east of Gola, and was built in 1196 A.H.

Inscription.²

از کرم کریم گوید حیرت

ه ۱۱۹۶

برمضان روز جمعه چرن کلاب بنا کرد معراب رب الخلیق
چنین ملام غیب تاریخ گفت بود مسجد همپور بیت العتیق
سنه ۱۱۹۶ ه

Translation.

"Hairat says this by the grace of the Benevolent"
1196 A. H.

In the month of Ramzan on a Friday like a rose
The arch of the house of Creator was constructed ;
The latent voice said this chronogram,
" May this mosque be like the Old House ".³

1196 A.H.

No. 42.

Hakim Syed Ahmad Hosain's Tomb.

Hakim Syed Ahmad Hosain's tomb is in Lodikatra about 6 miles east of Gola. He died in 1198 A.H.

¹ Ali the fourth Caliph his also called Haider.

² Both the lines از کرم کریم گوید حیرت and بود مسجد همپور بیت العتیق are chronograms and give 1196 as the date.

³ Old House meaning Kaaba, the temple at Mecca.

Inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 كل من عليها فان ويبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال والاكرام¹
 حكيم سيد احمد حسين ماه عيد يكشنبه سنه ١١٩٨ هـ

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.

All things are mortal and the face of God, the Powerful and Benevolent shall remain for ever. Hakim Syed Ahmad Husain. Month of Id, Sunday, 1198 A.H.

No. 43.**Mir Ibrahim's Tomb.**

In the Shish Mahal mosque (Nos. 35—37) there is the tomb of Mir Ibrahim its founder who died in 1199 A.H.

Inscription.

در شب هفتم ماه شعبان
 مرشد کامل ازین عهد که رفت
 گفت تاریخ دل از روز جمال
 بود قطب در عهد که رفت²
 ١١٩٩ در جمال یعنی ابجد
 سال انتقال پیر و مرشدی حضرت میر ابراهیم سنه ١١٩٩ در بیانات

Translation.

On the night of the seventh of Shaban
 When the perfect guide passed away
 from this world,

The heart said the date according to
jamal.

"He was a great saint of the time he died"

1199 in *jamal*, i.e., *abjad*.

The year of the death of religious monitor and preceptor
 Hazrat Mir Ibrahim 1199 A.H. in *bayanat*.³

¹ Holy Quran, Part 27, chapter LV entitled "the Merciful," verse 25.

² The chronogram *بود قطب در عهد که رفت* gives only 1109 but if we add the *ل* according to the hint in margin still the total is 1179 which is short by 20.

³ For *jamal* and *bayanat*, see introduction.

No. 44.

Dooly Ghat Mosque.¹

The mosque called Dooly Ghat mosque is in Dooly Ghat, a quarter of the city. It was built in 1200 A. H. by Aminuddowla Azizul Mulk Ali Ibrahim Khan Bahadur Nasir Jung who was the "trustiest friend" of Mir Qasim and whose name appears in Syarul Mutakhirin at several places.¹

Inscription.

هر الا حد

در سنه یک هزار در صد و هجری امین الدوله عزیز الملک علی ابراهیم
خان بهادر نصیر جنگ تعمیر نمود -

Translation.

He is one.

In the year one thousand two hundred Hijri, Aminuddowla Azizul Mulk Ali Ibrahim Khan Bahadur Nasir Jung constructed this mosque.

No. 45.

A Lady's Tomb.

In the Muslim cemetery near Moghalpura, a quarter of the city about 5½ miles east of Gola, is an old tomb of a young lady who was daughter of Syed Shah Mahfuz. She died in 1201 A. H.

Inscription.

آن ختم المرسلین	آن بنمت سید شاه محفوظ اه
زوجه افضل حسین پاک دین	چون بعمر شانزده ساله گذشت
زین جهان کشت در جنت مکن	والدین وزوج آن مریم صفت
هر سه تن گشتندش اندر هگین	حیف چون یکسال رفت از ازدواج
گشت در آعرش مرقد جاگزین	روز و تاریخ و مه و سال وفات
چون طلب کردم برنجهای حزن	بوسر قبرش رقم زد ده چهار
جمعه ماه جمادی آخرین	
سنه ۱۲۰۱ ه	

¹ Gholam Hosain Khan never lacks in praising him. He says "the illustrious and high born Khan, the beneficent, the munificent, the excellent and learned, the lord of one way of seeing (that is the sincere) Ali Ibrahim Khan, the Valiant, son to Doctor Mohammad Nasayr"—Syarul Mutakhirin, Volume I, section VII, page 12, English translation, 1789 edition.

Translation.That ¹

the last of the prophets

Daughter of Syed Shah Mahfuz, alas !

Wife of Afzal Hosain of the holy religion

When she had passed the age of sixteen only

She went from this world to reside in heaven.

The parents and the husband of that Mary like lady,

All the three were full of grief.

Pity ! it was only a year after her marriage

That she took her abode in the lap of the grave.

The day, date, month and the year of her death

When I enquired with intense sorrow,

On the headstone of her tomb was written fourteenth,

Friday and the month of Jamadi II

1201 A.H.

No. 46.**Fakhruddowla's mosque.**

The mosque known as Fakhruddowla's mosque is situated on the main road about 6 miles east of Gola in Patna City. It was perhaps built by his wife who is called Begam Saheba in the inscription but her name is not mentioned. Fakhrud-dowla was Governor from 1725 to 1729. The mosque was built in 1202 A.H.=1788 A. D. and has three domes.²

Inscription.³

به بیگم صاحبہ فرخندہ بانا بنا ئے مسجدے پاکیزہ بنیاد
به سعی و کوشش حاجی سعادت مرتب گشت اجرش بیشتر بان

¹ Some of the words of the inscription could not be read.

² Both Mr. James in Patna Gazetteer and Mr. R. L. Sinha in Pataliputra say that the mosque had originally 5 domes but its construction does not support the view.

³ This inscription has also been given in Patna College Magazine (March 1918, page 96) but has been so wrongly recorded as to make it meaningless. It is mentioned as being from "an uninteresting mosque situated in Machrahatta" and no translation of the inscription has been given.

تمام از دولت فیروز جنگ است که اوست این درات خدا داد
 رسیده از حضور اقدس او برای سال تعمیرش چو ارشاد
 نموده مسجد شکرانه ساکن بگفتا این عبادت خانه آباد
 ۱۲۰۲

Translation.

May the construction of the beautiful mosque be auspicious to Begam Saheba.

It was finished through the labour and exertion of Haji Saadat. May he have full recompense.

This is all by the wealth of Ferozjung for he has got it as a God-send.

When an order was received from his honour for the chronogram of its construction,

Sakin prostrated in thanks giving, and said "May this house of prayer flourish"

1202.

No. 47.

Lodikatra mosque.

The mosque in Lodikatra, a quarter of the city about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Gola, was built by a lady called Makhmalunnissa Begam in 1202 A.H.=1788 A.D. Its inscription has fallen from the mosque and is kept with a local zamindar.

Inscription.

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 چون این مسجد بتأیید الهی بتاریخ همایون کلک تقدیر
 طفیل شاه ارزانی بنا یافت رقم زن کعبه ثانی بنا یافت
 ۱۲۰۲

مسجد آرا مخمل النساء بیگم

۱۲۰۲

Translation.

There is no God but God and Mohammad is His prophet.

When this mosque through the help of God,
Fortunately on an auspicious date
Was built through the agency of Shah Arzani,
It was written "A second Kaaba was constructed"
1202.

Constructor Makhmalunnissa Begam,
1202.

No. 48.**Nurpur Imambarah.**

To the west of Mir Jumla's mosques in Nurpur, a quarter of the city about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Gola, on the main road is a private cemetery on the gate of which is an inscription from which it appears that there was formerly an *imambarah* built in 1203 A.H. The imambarah building had also an inscription which is now buried in the debris.

Inscription on the gate.

میر فرزند علی مکان امام
ساخت مقبول خاص و عام شده
سال تاریخ از زهاتف غیب
تعزیه خانه امام شده

Translation.

Mir Farzand Ali constructed the house of *imam*¹
Which became popular with high and low.
The date of its construction by the latent informer,
Became "a house for the *tazia* of the *imam*".

1203.

¹ Imam means a patriarch or a leader in religious matters. The reference here is to Imams Hassan and Husain, the grandsons of the prophet whose martyrdom is commemorated by mourning and making *tazias* or model of their tombs annually in the month of Moharram.

No. 47. 49

Uparka Bazar Mosque.

In Uparka Bazar, a quarter of the city near Gulzarbagh about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Gola, is the Uparka Bazar mosque which was built in 1203 A.H.

Inscription.

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

سنة ١٢٠٣ هـ

Translation.

There is no God but God and Mohammad is His prophet
1203 A.H.

Nos. 50-54.

Gholam Yehya's mosque.

The Mosque of Gholam Yehya¹ which is in Moghalpura, a quarter of the city, was built in 1207 A.H. It has several inscriptions.

Inscription above mihrab

مسجد گاه غلام یحییٰ سنه ١٢٠٧ هـ

Translation.

Gholam Yehya's place of prayer, 1207 A.H.

Inscription on inner gate.

مالل تواړیخ غلام یحییٰ بانی مسجد

Translation.

Apt in history Gholam Yehya the founder of the Mosque.

Another inscription on inner gate.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم		
این عبادت گاه ابدآ آباد باد		
در بنیات	١٢٠٨ هجریه	سال انجام

¹ This Gholam Yehya who in the inscription is described as "apt in history" may be the same learned man who is described in Syeurul Mutakhirin as "prince of the learned of Azimabad, Mullah Gholam Yehya" (Volume I, Section VII, Page 13) and "learned and eminent men such as Gholam Yehya" (Volume I, Page 660).

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.

" May this place of worship be peopled for ever."

The date when
construction
ended.

1208 Hijri.

In bayanat.

Inscription on outer gate.

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

در زمان سعید این مسجد که بنیادش ز فضل ربانی
هاتف غیب سال تاریخش گفت بیت المقدس ثانی
فی سنه ۱۲۰۸ هـ

Translation.

There is no God but God and Mohammad is His prophet.
At the auspicious time when the mosque
Was built by God's grace,
The latent informer said its date of construction,
" A second temple of Jerusalem ".

In 1208. A. H.

The founder was buried after his death in the compound of the mosque but no date is given on the inscription, nor any of the line is a chronogram.

Inscription.

یس از من بر سر خاکم چو آئی دعای از برای من نمائی
زبان اهل دل تاثیر دارد بود شاید ز عصیانم رهائی

Translation.

When you come to my tomb after I have passed away,
Say prayer for me ;
The tongue of the pious has effect,
It may that I be absolved of my sins.

No. 55.**Bulaki's mosque.**

In Jaggis Chauraha, a quarter of the city about 5½ miles east of the Gola, is Bulaki's mosque which was built in 1208. A.H.

Inscription.

بلاقی داشت در دل این خیالے کہ سازد مسجدے الله را الله
 همدم گفت هاتف این زغیدش عبادت خانه [الله الله]¹
 ۱۲۰۸ هجر النبوی صلی الله علیه وسلم

Translation.

Bulaki had the idea in his heart,
 That he might construct a mosque for God,
 The latent informer said immediately,
 "A house for the prayer to God."
 1208 Hijri of the prophet may the blessing of God be on
 him and peace.

No. 56.**Shah Gholam Husain's mausoleum.**

Shah Gholam Husain who was fifth in succession to Shah Arzani died in 1211 A.H. and was buried within the compound of mausoleum of that saint.

Inscription.

شاه حق آشنا غلام حسین حیف زین خاکدان معنت رفت
 خراسان عشقی چو سال رحلت او رفت هاتف بسوء جنت رفت
 ۱۲۱۱

Translation.

Shah Gholam Hussain the lover of God,
 Alas I went away from this world of labour ;
 When Ishki wanted the date of his death,
 The latent informer said "He went towards paradise"

1211.

Nos. 57 and 58.

Mir Madarullah's mosque.

Mir Madarullah's mosque is in Dhoulpora, a quarter of the City. It has two inscriptions and was built by Mir Madarullah in 1211 A.H.

Inscription on *mihraab*.

افضل الذكر لاله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Translation.

The best of the sayings is "There is no God but God and Mohammad is his prophet".

Inscription on inner gate.

چون مدارالمهام خانه دين مير عالي نسب مدار الله
مسجد نو باعتقاد آراست سال تاريخ شد ضرور انگاه
از سر زهد گفت هاتف غيب شده مرسوم كعبه دلخراهِ¹
در عهد (۱۲۱۱) شاه عالم بادشاه

Translation.

When the minister of the house of religion,
Mir Madrullah of high lineage,
Constructed the new mosque out of faith,
The chronogram of its construction was necessary,
The latent informer with pious head said.
"It became known as a pleasant Kaaba".
In the reign of (1211) Emperor Shah Alam.

No. 59.

Keating's mosque.

The mosque known as Keating's mosque was built by Bibi Man, the mistress of Christopher Keating who was judge of Provincial Court of Appeal at Patna. It is on the main road near the Patna Civil Court within the compound of the house built by Christopher Keating. The house has recently under-gone much change. The mosque was built in 1212.

Inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله اكبر الله اكبر لاله
الا الله والله اكبر الله اكبر والله الحمد

¹ شده مرسوم كعبه دلخراهِ gives 1204 but accordingly to the hint 7 = 1204 + 7 = 1211 is to be added to it.

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله تعمير ساخته
بی بی مان فی سنه ۱۲۲۰ هزار و دویست و دوازده هجری

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement. God is Great, God is Great, there is no God but God, and God is Great, God is Great, and all praise is due to God. There is no God but God and Mohammad is his prophet. Constructed by Bibi Man in 1212 A.H. One thousand two hundred and twelve Hijri.

No. 60.

A tomb in Sultan Dumba's mosque.

In Moghalpura, a quarter of the city about 5½ miles from Gola, is a very large and old mosque without any inscription called Sultan Dumba's mosque. There is a tomb of a person whose name is not known, but it appears from the inscription that he died in 1212 A.H.

Inscription.

هو الکرم
بجنت جو بشتافت آن نیک تن
بسال وفاتش شدم رایے زن
زهران شریفم بتعظیم او
بیا و بیا باغبان عدن
سنه ۱۲۱۲ هـ

Translation.

He is benevolent.

When that good natured one went away to the paradise
I enquired of the date of his death.
I heard it from the *houris* who received him (and said)
"Come one, come on, the gardener of Eden"

1212 A.H.

No. 61.

Roshan Mohammad Khan's tomb.

In the cemetery of Kashmiri Bagh near Moghalpura is the tomb of Roshan Mohammad Khan who died in 1213 A.H.

Inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
 و اشهد ان محمداً عبده و رسوله حافظ روشن محمد خان غفر الله له
 سنة ١٢١٣ هجري

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement. I declare that verily there is no God but God, the One, who has no equal, and I declare that verily Mohammad is His servant and prophet. Hafiz Roshan Mohammad Khan, may God pardon him. 1213 Hijri.

No. 62.**Husaini Begam's mosque.**

Husaini Begam's mosque is in Dhaulpura, about 6½ miles east of Gola. It was built in 1214 A.H.

Inscription.

بحسن طينت و صدق و صفا چو كده بنا
 حسيني بيگم ذى رتبه يك عبادگاه
 ندا رسيد ز هائف بگوش هر مومن
 ز دل نماز كن ايجا كه هست بيت الله

Translation.

When with good disposition, truth and piety,
 Husaini Begam of high position constructed the place of worship,
 On the ears of every believer a voice reached from the latent informer,

"Pray here heartily for this is the house of God".

No. 63.**Hajiganj mosque.**

The beautiful mosque in mahalla Hajiganj, Patna City, which is known as Hajiganj mosque was built by Haji Manzoor Ali Khan in 1217 A.H.

¹ There is no date in figures in the inscription but *هست بيده الله* gives 1214.

Inscription.

اضعف العباد حاجى منظور علي خان خواجه سراى سيد هدايت
علي خان بهادر اسد جنگ طباطباى در سنه يک هزار و صد و هفتاد
هجري تعمير اين مسجد نمود از جميع المومنين اميدوار دعاى
مغفرت است سنه ۱۲۱۷ هـ

Translation.

The weakest of the slaves Haji Manzoor Ali Khan, eunuch of Saiyid Hedayet Ali Khan Bahadur Asad Jung Tabatabai¹ constructed this mosque in the year one thousand two hundred and seventeen Hijri. He expects from every believer a prayer for the pardon of his sins, 1217 A.H.

No. 64.**Madaroo's mosque.**

Madaroo's mosque is in Dankaki-Imli, a quarter of the city about four miles east of Gola. It was constructed by her in 1217 A.H.

Inscription.

تاريخ تعمير مسجد مدارو مهترانى هفتم شوال سنه ۱۲۱۷ هـ

Translation.

The date of the construction of Madaroo Mehtarani's mosque seventh Shawwal 1217 A.H.

No. 65.**Kashmiri Bagh mosque.**

The mosque in Kashmiri Bagh, a quarter of the city, has an inscription of two lines the first of which is in Arabic and the second in Persian. Both the lines are chronograms and give 1219 A.H. as the date.

¹ Saiyid Hedayet Ali Khan was the father of Saiyid Gholam Hussin Khan, the author of *Syeurul Mutakhrin* and he is referred at several places in that book. He was made pay master by Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan (Volume I, page 386) and was subsequently appointed as deputy governor of Patna (Volume I, page 448). He was superseded by Rai Chintaman Das but when the Marhattas made havoc, "the citizens of Patna were very much alarmed and asked him to take the reins of government" (G. P. Sen—Patna during the last days of Muhammadans, *Calcutta Review*, Volume LXXIV, 1882).

Inscription.

هو الله الغنى الرزق

۱۲۱۹

بمسجد بکن ذکر حق با ادب

۱۲۱۹

Translation.

"He is God, the Benevolent and the Loving."

1219.

"In mosque recite the name of God respectfully."

1219.

No. 66.**A child's tomb near Pir Damaria.**

Near Pir Damaria mosque, which is very beautifully situated on a high plinth, by the side of the river are several tombs, one of which is of a child whose name was Jamal-ud-din Haidar. It has an inscription from which it appears that he died in 1219 A.H.

Inscription.

هو الغفور الباقی

شده راقم غلام محیی الدین
از قضا وارد عظیم آباد
شهر میرت یزد قدیم وطن
هست مشهور بازه میلاد
بعد عمری بارز ز نزل
پسر خرب روزه صورت زاده
لفظ حیدر فزود نام او را
به تمنا جمال دیں نهاد
موت مشتاق صورتش گردید
برمن فرصت حیات نداد
صومعه تندرتیز اجل برخواست
نخل عمرش بسر زیا افتاد
عام تاریخ گفت آه غریب ۱۲۱۹
هر یک شافع و مشفع باد

۱۲۱۹

Translation.

He is Forgiving and Everlasting,
Gholam Mohi-ud-din who by chance came to Azimabad
wrote this.

His old native place was the city of Meerut but Barh is
known as the place of his birth.

He begot a beautiful son after the desire of an age.

He fondly named him Jamal-ud-din which was followed
by the word "Haidar".

Death became desirous of his face and it did not give
a chance of life.

The strong and cold wind of death arose and the tree of his
life fell head long from the feet.

A common chronogram was said "Ah Poor"

1219.

"May every one be his intercessor and recommender"

1219.

SECTION IV.**Inscriptions from 1807 to 1857.****No. 67.****Mirza Aziz's tomb.**

In the grave yard to the north of Sher Shah's mosque in
Dhaulpura, a quarter of the city is the tomb of one Mirza
Aziz who died in 1223 A.H. The inscription consists of beauti-
ful lines in Persian.

Inscription.

چو شد مرزا عزیز از امر تقدیر
مقامات عدم را جاده پیما
برآمد از زبان خامه تاریخ
عزیزم رفت از مصر دنیا
۱۲۲۳ هـ

Translation.

When Mirza Aziz with fates' command,
Went to the realm of eternight.

This chronogram came out of the tongue of pen,

"My friend went away from the regions of the world."

1223 A.H.

No. 68.

Bibi Man's tomb.

Bibi Man who was the mistress of Christopher Keating, senior Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal, died in 1223 A. H. as the chronogram of the tombstone of her grave shows. The inscription on the mosque built by her has been described before (no. 59). Her tomb is in the mosque compound and the stone is affixed in the wall to the west of the tomb.

Inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 غني چون بی بی خلق را کرد از سخنهای خرد
 بے نغم البدل بزمرد حامل از خدای خرد
 پے تعزیت آل عبا مصروف بود از جان
 همین آن در فردوس بکشماد از برای خرد
 ز بس اعمال نیکو کشته زر صادر از آن دریاف
 غریق بحر غفران خدا سر تا پیای خرد
 بررز پنجشنبه کان ز شعبان برد برده در
 برفت از دهر فانی در بهشت دلکشال خرد
 پے تاریخ سال رحلتش زیگرنه رضوان گفت
 کلزار عدن بنمود بی بی مان چائے خرد

COOMBS & Co.

Calcutta.

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement,
 When Man Bibi made the people rich by her words,
 She got its full recompense from God ;
 She was heartily engaged in mourning for Aal-i-aba.¹
 And this opened the gate of paradise for her.
 With all good motives Sadir asked lamenting about her
 Who was head to foot submerged in the sea of mercy.

¹ Fatma, the daughter of the prophet, Ali his son-in-law,
 Hassan and Hossain his grand sons are called Aal-i-aba.

It was Thursday, the second of Shaban,
That she went from this transient world to the pleasant
paradise.

Rizwan¹ said this for the date of her death,
" Bibi Man made her place a garden of Eden "

Coombs and Co.,
Calcutta.

No. 69.

Shah Hassan Ali's tomb.

Shah Hassan Ali who was a saint is buried in Khawja
Kalan, a quarter of city about 5½ miles east of gola. He died
in 1224 A.H.

Inscription.

درد آرام در ریاض بهشت شاه حسن علی کہ بود رلی
سال تاریخ رحلتش هاتف گفت مخدوم شاه حسن علی
۱۲۲۴

Translation.

Shah Hassan Ali who was a saint took this rest in the
garden of paradise,

The latent informer said the chronogram of the date of his
death " Shah Hassan Ali, the saint " 1224.

No. 70.

Dhoulpura Mosque.

The mosque known as Dhoulpura mosque is situated in
Dhoulpura, a quarter of the city. It was built in 1227 A.H.

Inscription.

إن المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله أحداً
إجماع المومنون وحدد الباقي

سنة ۱۲۲۷ هـ
۱۲۲۷

Translation.

Verily mosques are for God. Don't call any body equal to
God. The believers were collected and they narrated about the
unity of the Everlasting one.

1227 A. H.
1227

¹ Rizwan, the angel of paradise.

No. 71.

Qilla mosque.

The Qilla mosque is in *mahalla* Qilla or the Fort ¹ about 6½ miles east of Gola. It was built in 1229 A.H. by some one who is said to be a religious person ² whose name is not mentioned in the inscription.

Inscription. *

ذلك بيت الله

سنة ۱۲۲۹

مسجدے ساخت مرد دیندارے از مقیمان آستانہ حق

سال تعمیر از زدل جستم دل بمن گفت هست خانه حق

سنة ۱۲۲۹

Translation.

"This is the house of God."

1229.

A religious person whose residence is the threshold of God ³ constructed this mosque.

I searched the date of construction from heart which said "This is the house of God."

1229.

¹ The quarter of the city known as Qilla or the Fort is near the fort built by Sher Shah which was the residence of the provincial governors during the Moghal times. The fort no longer exists now but its site is occupied by the beautiful mansion of Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Janan.

² ذلك بيت الله and ذلك بمن گفت هست خانه حق are chronograms which give 1229 as the date. Both mean "this is the house of God" but the former is Arabic and the latter in Persian.

³ By "residence is the threshold of God" is meant that he is dead.

No. 72.

Shah Rustum Ali's Tomb.

In the compound of a mosque in Nanmolia, a quarter of the city about $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles east of gola, is the tomb of the saint Shah Rustum Ali who died in 1230 A. H.

Inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

بقرینہ ہمسف دیکم شہر جمادی الاول سنہ ۱۲۳۰ ہجری
القدس روز سہ شنبہ گنگار رستم علی وفات و از برکت روح پر
فتوح حضرت شاہ ابوالبرکات قدس سرہ درین مقام آرام و نجات
یافت توقع از پارسایان و ناظران ہمیں کہ بظہر شفقت جانب
مزارم نگرند و دعاے مغفرت یاد آرند
متاب اے پارسا رو از گنگار ببخشایندگی دورے نظر کن
اگر من نا جوانمردم بکردار تو بر من چون چران مردان گذران
۱۲۳۰

اشہد ان لا اله الا الله و اشہد ان محمداً عبده و رسوله

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.

There is no God but God and Mohammad is his prophet.

On Tuesday the twenty first Jamadi I, 1230 of holy Hijri Rustum Ali the sinner died and from the favour of the conquering soul of Shah Abul Barkat, may his remains be sacred, took his rest and salvation here. From the pious men and the readers it is expected that they cast an affectionate look towards my tomb and pray for my pardon.

O pious man don't turn thy face from the sinner,

(But) look at him with forgiveness.

If I died unmanly in action,

Thou shouldst pass by me like a brave man.

1230.

I declare that verily there is no God but God and I declare that verily Mohammad is His servant and prophet.

No 73.

Muradunnissa's mosque.

Muradunnissa's mosque is in Lodikatra a quarter of the city about 6 miles from gola. She built it in 1233 A.H.

Inscription.

سبحانه	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	جل شانہ
چون مراد النساء بحق آگاه	خوش بنا کرد مسجدے دلخوا	
یافتم سال ارزوے طلب	فان کر رافیه دائما لله	
	۱۲۳۳	

Translation.

He is praiseworthy.	In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.	His state is glorious
<p>When godly Muradunnissa Beautifully constructed the pleasant mosque, I got its date as I wanted it, (which is) " Pray to God in it for ever "</p>		
1233.		

No. 74.

Pagal Khana mosque.

The Pagal Khana mosque is so called because it is opposite to the compound in which formerly there was lunatic asylum. It is about a mile east of Gola and was built by Bibi Nuran as is given in the inscription. The inscription which is on the building of the mosque strangely shows the construction of the building as well as relates about the death of the lady as if it were a tombstone.

* ۱۲۲۴ gives 1:24 but according to the hint 9 (the equivalent of letter (ط) should also be added which makes up the total 1233.

Inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله اكبر الله اكبر لا اله الا الله و الله
 اكبر و لله الحمد لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 تعمیر بتاریخ پانزدهم شهر جمادی الاول سنه ۱۲۳۳ هجری
 روز سه شنبه بوقت صبح مسماة بی بی نوران رحلت فرمودند
 ابو بکر عمر عثمان علی
 ابو بکر عمر عثمان علی

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement. God is Great, God is Great, there is no God but God and God is Great and all praises are due to God. There is no God but God and Mohammad is his prophet.

Constructed fifteenth Jamadi I 1233 A.H. Tuesday, in the morning Musammât Bibi Nooran died.

Abu Bakr, Umar.

Abu Bakr, Umar.

Usman, Ali.

Usman, Ali.

No. 75.

Moradpur mosque.

The mosque known as Moradpur mosque is on the main road in Moradpur about a mile and a quarter east of Gola. It was built by Bibi Mannoo Khanum who was the mistress of Mr. Boilard, the then owner of Chajju Bagh, now the residence of the Chief Justice. The mosque was built in 1234 A.H.

Inscription

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 مسجد عالی مذکورہ تمام بی بی منور خانمی فرزانه
 گفت دل تاریخ از هجر رسول پاک بنیادی عبادت خانه
 سنه ۱۲۳۴

Translation.

There is no God but God and Mohammad is His prophet.

This great mosque was constructed.

By the wise Bibi Mannoo Khanum.

The heart said its date by the prophets Hijri.

"A house of worship" of clean foundation.

1234 A.H.

No. 76.

Shah Hamza Ali's tomb.

The tomb of Shah Hamza Ali is in Shah Baqar-ki-takia, a quarter of the city about 4 miles east of Gola. Shah Hamza Ali died in 1236 A.H.

Inscription.

الف الله

عاشق حق معبود ر آزاد شاه حمزه علی پاک وجود
چوں زمرلی صدای عشق شنید در ره وصل کام ذرق کشود
بود در جستجوی تاریخش سر فرور برده احمد بے بود
از لب یاس گفت هاتف غیب برده بستر بدرگه معبود

۱۲۳۶

Translation.

Begin with Allah.

The lover of God, the celebrate and free
Shah Hamza Ali of pure existence,
When he heard the voice of love from God,
He became desirous to meet Him.
The lowly Ahmad bending his head
Was in search of the date,
(When) the latent informer said with the lips of despair
"He carried his bedding to the house of God."

1236.

No. 77.

Choti Masjid, Gurhatta.

The mosque known as Choti Masjid or the small mosque is in Gurhatta, a quarter of the city about 5½ miles east of Gola. It is on the main road and was built by Hakim Gholam Mohammad in 1240 A.H.

Inscription.

غلام محمد حکیم بزرگ چو فرمود تعمیر این سجدہ گاہ
شد از سر بانگ تاریخ از بخوبی بنا کرد مسجد براہ

۱۲۴۰

چون ساخت مسجدے کہ

بشکسته فرق کفر بگر خانه خدا^۱

سنه ۱۲۴۱ یک هزار و در صد و چهل یک هجری

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.
Turn your faces towards the extensive Holy Mosque
Kazim Ali who is a Shia (built this mosque).
The angel gave a cry from his chest to my ear
When he constructed this mosque
Breaking the head of unbelief say 'house of God'.
1241 A.H. one thousand two hundred forty-one Hijri.

No. 80.

Bam Saheb's mosque.

The big mosque in Jaggi Chauraha Moghalpura about 5½ miles east of Gola known as Bam Saheb's mosque was built by one Zahoran said to be the mistress of one Bam Saheb who according to local tradition was in the service of Government about one hundred years ago.

Inscription.

مسجدے نور ساخت چو آراست شد
در بلندی برد از گردن سبق
هائے تاریخ تعمیرش بگفت
معبد با رفعت از انوار حق
سنه ۱۲۴۳ هجری

Translation.

When this new mosque was constructed
It even went higher than the sky.
A latent informer said its chronogram of construction,
"An elevated place of worship from the light of God".
1243 A.H.

^۱ 1261 but according to the hint ک (-20) is to be deducted, خانه خدا

No. 81.

Nagla mosque.

The mosque called the Nagla mosque was built by a lady named Aaliunnissa Begam in 1241 A.H. It is situated in mahalla Nagla about 7 miles east of Gola.

Inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 کرد چون مسجد عالی نسا بیگم بنا
 از پست شاه رگدا باب عبادت در کشور
 گشت این تاریخ از فضل امیر در جهان
 شد بنا بهر نمازی در جهان دارالسجود
 سنه ۱۲۴۱ نبوی

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.
 When this great mosque was built by Aaliunnissa Begam
 The gate of worship was opened to the king and beggar
 alike,
 By the help of the Master of the two worlds
 "The house of worship was built for those who pray".
 1241 the year of the Prophet.

No. 82.

Asalat Khan's mosque.

The small mosque of Asalat Khan is in mahalla Fakirbara about a mile to south-east of Gola. Asalat Khan as it appears from the inscription was a subadar, probably in the British Indian army.

Inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله - اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا
 شریک له و اشهد ان محمداً عبده و رسوله تعمیر ساخته اصالت
 خان صریه دار یکهزار در صد چهل و چهار هجری قمری

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement. There is no God but God and Muhammad is his Prophet. I declare verily that there is no God but God, the One having no equal and I declare that verily Muhammad is his servant and prophet. Constructed by Asalat Khan, Subedar, in one thousand two hundred and forty-four of holy Hijri.

No. 83.**Balkhi Saheb's mosque.**

There is a small mosque in Bakshi Mahalla about 5½ miles east of Gola known as Balkhi Saheb's mosque after Hafizuddin Balkhi Saheb who repaired it. It was originally built by Akramul Haque in 1247 A.H.

Inscription.

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 اکرم الحق چو کوفت بر سوره
 میخ اسلام مسجد دلخواه
 گفت راعظ زسال قاریخش
 فا ذکر را فيه والسجد را لله
 من بنی مسجد الله بنی الله له بیتاً فی الجنة¹
 سنه ۱۲۴۷ هجری

Translation.

There is no God but God and Muhammad is his Prophet.
 When Akramul Haque struck on the road
 The peg of Islam—the beautiful mosque,
 Waiz said its date by chronogram (thus)
 "Pray to God and recite His name in it."
 God will build a house in heaven for him who will build
 a mosque for God.

1247. A.H.

1. This is from the sayings of the prophets.

No. 84.

Golakpur mosque,

The mosque called Golakpur mosque is in Golakpur, a quarter of the city about 2 miles east of Gola. It was repaired in 1248 A.H. by Zulfagar Ali and has again recently been repaired. From the inscription it appears that Emperor Farrukh Sayair said his prayer in this mosque.

Inscription.

کرد احیا چو ذوالفقار علی
 دستدار علی امام هندی
 مسجد شادمان را که در
 کرد فرخ سیر نماز ادا
 بازگ زد سال حی بلال دلم
 ساز آباد خانه تقری
 سنه ۱۲۴۸ هجری

Translation.

When Zulfagar Ali
 The friend of Ali, the *imam* and true leader,
 Rebuilt Shadman's mosque in which
 Farrukh Sayair performed his prayer.
 The Balal¹ of my heart cried the date of renovation
 "May this house of piety flourish well".

1248 Hijri.

No. 85.

Inscription of a Bath.

An inscription of a stone bath built by Mohammad Yehya Khan, son of Ali Qasim Khan Bahadur², is in the Oriental

1. Balal was the companion of the Prophet who used to cry the call of prayer in the mosque.

2. Ali Qasim Khan was the brother of the famous Ali Ibrahim Khan (Syceerul Mubakhrin English translation, 1789 edition, Volume II, page 348). Mr. James thinks that Mohammad Yehya was the brother of Ali Ibrahim Khan (Patna Gazetteer, page 40).

Public Library, Patna. The inscription belongs to some bath in Patna City¹, and it appears from the inscription that it was built in 1249 A.H.

Inscription.

محمد يعقوب خان ابن علي قاسم خان بهادر مغفور
بمآء ربيع الاول سنة ١٢٤٩ هجري حمام سنگي تعمير نمود

Translation.

Mohammad Yehya Khan, son of Ali Quasim Khan Bahadur deceased, constructed the stone bath in the month of Rabi I, one thousand two hundred and forty-nine Hijri.

No. 86.

Chowk mosque.²

The Chowk mosque is on the main road at Chowk about 6½ miles east of Gola. The inscription in figure has 1251 as the date of construction but the chronogram gives 1221 A.H.

Inscription.

يا ابر بكر	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	يا عمر
مسجدے خوب کہنے نو تیار سال تہذیب کن برین اظہار زہل رحم بانگ زد ہاتف اے مصلی بیا نماز گزار ³		
یا عثمان	سنہ ١٢٥١ هجري النبوي	یا علي

¹ There is a quarter of the City of Patna known as Hammam or the Bath, near the residence of Ali Ibrahim Khan. It seems probable that the stone belongs to the bath from which the quarter of the city derives its name.

² The inscription of this mosque has also been given in an article on mosques of Patna in Patna College Magazine for March 1913, page 95, but has wrongly been mentioned as an inscription from Fakhruddowla's mosque. Fakhruddowla's mosque the inscription of which has been noticed before (No. 46 supra) is situated about a turlong west of this mosque.

³ اے مصلی بیا نماز گزار gives only 1213 but we have to add 8 (= ح) according to the hint.

Translation.

Abu Bakar.	In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.	Omar.
<p>Say the date of the construction of the beautiful old mosque rebuilt.</p> <p>The latent informer cried from merciful heart "O righteous, come and say your prayer."</p>		
Usman.	1251 prophet's Hijri.	Ali.

No. 87.**Shah Karim Bux's Mausoleum.**

Shah Karim Bux who was sixth in succession to Shah Arzani died in 1252 A.H. His mausoleum is in the compound of Shah Arzani's mausoleum.

Inscription.

آن کریم که بود بحر نرم
کرد رحمت زکینه دیر فنا
بود مقبول خالق اکبر
ماتمش کرد عالم بالا
قدسیان عدن همی کردند
سال تاریخ فوت ار انشا
گفت رضوان بخلد قاریخش
اے جناب کریم بخش بیا
سنه ۱۲۵۲ هجری

Translation.

That benevolent who was an ocean of charity
Passed away from the transitory world.
He was a chosen one of the Great Creator, (so)
The world above mourned for him.
The pious of paradise were trying
To write the chronogram of his death
(When) the angel of paradise said its date
"Come on, Your Honour, Karim Bux."

1252 A.H.

No. 88.

Kaua Khoh mosque.

In Kaua Khoh ¹, a quarter of the city about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Gola is mosque known as Kaua Khoh mosque which was built in 1253 A.H. by Shaikh Ali Baksh Qadiri or Ahmad Chisti or both, as both the names are mentioned in the inscription. Although the inscription is in Persian it contains two Urdu words ² of pure Hindi origin.

Inscription³

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُولُ اللّٰهِ
 شَیْخِ عَلِی بَخْشِ قَادِرِی رَا بَخْشِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِیْنَ
 سَرخِ رَزَّ اَحْمَدِ چِشْتِی هُو یَا مَالِکِ دِیَارِ دِیْنِ
 دَوَازْدَهٗ حَدِّ سَالِ هِجْرَتِ سَالِ دَرِ پَنجَاہِ رَ تَیْنِ
 مَسْجِدِے آراستہ نو کَرْدِ بَرِ رَوے زَمِیْنِ

Translation.

In the name of God, the Merciful and Clement.
 There is no God but God and Mohammad is his prophet.
 O, Creator of the universe! pardon Shaikh Ali Baksh Qadiri.

O Master of world and faith triumph Ahmad Chisti,

It was twelve hundred fifty-three of the Hijra

When he made a new mosque and adorned it on the face of the earth.

¹ Kana Khoh is corruption of Kaiwan Fhikoh or "the Splendid Palace" which was the name of the palace built by Prince Azimushan while he was governor of Bihar. The palace no longer exists now but the quarter of the city where it stood is called as such after it.

² سرخ and زین are Hindi words.

³ This inscription is also given in an article in Patna College Magazine (March 1913, page 96) but is mentioned as an inscription from dargah of Shaikh Shakri in mahalla Shakri.

No. 89.

Gulzarbagh mosque.

The Gulzarbagh mosque is situated on the main road on the north side of it about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Gola. It was built by one Sheikh Ali in 1255 A.H.

Inscription.¹

خداے پاک قر اللہ کبر	اللہ کافی	چراغ و مسجد و محراب و منبر
محمد مصطفیٰ برحق پیمبر	بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم	ابوبکر و عمر عثمان حیدر

انما یعمرو مساجد اللہ من امن باللہ والیوم الآخر و اقام الصلوۃ رانی الزکوۃ
و لم یخش²

من بنی اللہ مسجداً	ابوبکر عمر
خلیفہ رسول	
فلہ الجنتہ ³	لا الہ الا اللہ محمد رسول اللہ عثمان علی
	اللہ رضوان اللہ علیہم

ابو بکر و عمر و عثمان و علی	شیخ علی زہر خدا	ہجری
بعد پیمبر خلیفہ چار شد	کرد مسجد بنا بمہر خدا	سنہ ۱۲۵۵
سال تاریخ از ہمی جستم	بو حنیفہ شافعی ہم حنبلی	
بیت بالخیر شد زغیب ندا	احمد مالک امام چار شد	

¹. The writing in the corner should be read together. The four lines in the upper portion in both the corners form a quatrain similarly the four lines in the lower portion form another quatrain.

². The quotation in Arabic in the middle is from the Holy Quran, Part X, Chap. IX, entitled "Repentance."

³. This is abridged from the saying of the prophet 'من بنی مسجد اللہ بنی الہ ج' بیتاً فی الجنة

Translation.

God the holiest is Great.	God is sufficient,	The lamp, mosque, <i>mihrab</i> and the pulpit.	
Mohammad the chosen one is true Prophet.	In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.	('re so to say) Abu Bakr, Omar, Usman and Haider.	
<p>Only he constructs mosques for God who believes in God and the day of judgment and performs prayer, gives alms, and did not fear.</p>			
He who builds a mosque for God, paradise is for him.	There is no God but God and Mohammad is His prophet.	Abu Bakr, Omar, Usman and Ali.	The caliphs of the prophet of God, may God be pleased with them.
Abu Bakr, Omar, Usman and Ali were the four caliphs after the prophet.	Sheikh Ali for God's sake and through the grace of God constructed the mosque.	Hijri 1255.	When I searched for the date from the chronogram a "house of righteousness" was the hidden cry.
			Bu Hanifa, Shafai, Humblid Ahmad Malik were the four imams.

No. 90.

Shah Gholam Husain's mosque.

Shah Gholam Husain's mosque is in Nagla about 7 miles east of Gola. It was built by him in 1255 A. H.

Inscription.

مسجد بنا چر شاه غلام حسین کره
چون کلشن ام شده مطبرع دلکشا
تاریخ از چو فکر نمرود ندا رسید
برکش حروف از بکر خانه خدا
سنه ۱۲۵۵ هجری

Translation.

When Shah Gholam Husain built the mosque.

It was as pleasant as the garden of paradise.

When I wanted a chronogram, a voice said.

Delete the letters of "that" and say "House of God".

1255 A. H.

^۱ خانه خدا gives 1262 and if the equivalent of ار (=7) is deleted it becomes 1255.

No. 91.

Bakergunge mosque.

The mosque which is on the Lower Road about a furlong east of the Bankipore Maidan was built by a lady named Khairunnissa in 1257 A. H.

Inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 لمسجدہ آسس علی تقویٰ من اول یوم احق ان تقوم فیہ^۱
 بہر رضائے ساختہ خیر الانسا
 مسجد عالی بنا چوں حرم محترم
 خامہ زاہد چو کرد سال بنائش طلب
 ہاتقش آواز داد ثانیہ بیت الحرم
 سنہ ۱۲۵۷

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.
 Verily the mosque has been founded on purity, from the first day. You have the full right to pray in it.
 For God's pleasure Khairunnissa built
 The great mosque like the holy Kaaba.
 When Zahid's pen wanted the date of construction
 The latent informer cried "A second Holy House".^۲

1257.

No. 92.

Tikia Shah's tomb.

Tikia Shah's tomb is in Diwan Mahalla, a quarter of the city about 5 miles east of Gola. Tikia Shah who was saint died in 1257 A. H.

Inscription.

کل من علیہا فان ویقول وجہ ربک ذوالجلال والاکرام^۳
 جہاں ہمسورے چوں لنگد زغم
 نہ خیزد زدلیہا چرا درد آہ

^۱. Holy Quran portion of verse 14, Part 11, Chapter 1X, entitled the "Repentance".

^۲. Holy House, the temple at Mecca.

^۳. Holy Quran, Part 27, Chapter LV, entitled the 'Merciful', verse 25.

که مجذوب حق شاه تکیه گذشت
 گلستان جنت شدش خوابگاه
 کرامات او شهره عالم است
 بریں عالم را بیام گواه
 چو شب تیره بودش تن از خاکمال
 ولیکن دلش بود روشن چو ماه
 ملائک پے سال رحلت بعوش
 فرشتند مجذوب عشق الله¹

Translation.

All things are transitory and the face of your God the
 Gracious and Merciful will remain for ever.

Why should not the world flute like lament with sorrow

Why should not sighs arise from the hearts of people,

For the saint Shah Tikia passed away, (and)

The garden of paradise became his resting place.

His miracles are so well known throughout the world that

I can bring the whole world to bear witness to this.

His body was black like night from the dust

But his heart was as bright as moon.

The angels in the heaven for the date of his death

Wrote "the saint of the love of God".

No. 93.**Fazl Ali's mosque.**

Fazl Ali's mosque which is in the City was built in 1257
 A. H. by him.

Inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 کرد چو فضل علی سید عالی نسب
 خانه تقوی درست مسجد عالی بهم
 از مدد مؤمنین گرچه شد آغاز او
 لیک ز فضل علی گشت بنایش اتم
 فکر بتاریخ او کرد چو ذاکر زدل
 گشت ز هائف ندا ثانیه بیت الحرم
 سنه ۱۲۵۷ هجری النبى صلی الله علیه وسلم

¹ مجذوب عشق الله gives 1257 as the date.

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement
 Fazl Ali, the Syed¹ of high parentage
 Having constructed the great mosque provided with a house
 of piety.

Although its beginning was with the help of the faithfuls,
 But by Fazl Ali its construction was completed.

When Zakir consulted from his heart about the date of its
 construction,

A voice came from the latent speaker that it was a "second
 Holy House".

1257 Hijri of the prophet, may the blessing of God be on
 him and peace.

No. 94.**The Lawn mosque.**

The mosque known as "Lawn mosque" is to the south
 of the Bankipore Maidan on the main road. It was built in
 1258 A. H. by two hairdressers Himmat and Jumman who
 were brothers.

Inscription.

الله اكبر
 در بوانر به نيت صادق
 بود بنياد خانه طاعت
 بے تاريخ از دل مشتاق
 رفت در بحر فكر يكساعت
 بهر توحيد زار عطف فگند
 گفت تعمير چمن و همت
 هجری تعمير چمن و همت حجاب
 ۱۲۵۸ هـ

هورالفقار
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 انظر فانزينا بعزمت نبى صلى الله عليه وسلم
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 انشيدان لاله الا الله واشهدان محمدا عبده ورسوله

¹. Syeds are the descendants of the prophet.

He is Forgiver.
In the name of God the Merciful
and Clement. Oh God forgive the sins
of both, by the grace of the Prophet
may the blessing of God be on him
and peace.

Translation.

God is Great.

Two brothers with pious intentions,
Constructed the house of prayer,
The fond heart for its chronogram
Was engaged for an hour,
For the sake of unity it deleted the
conjunction "and".

(And) said "Construction of Jumman
"and Himmat",

1258 A. H. Constructed by Jumman
and Himmat Barbers.

In the name of God the Merciful
and Clement. I declare that there is no
God but God and I declare that
Muhammad is his servant and Prophet.

No. 95.

Idgah of Dargah.

Within the compound of the mausoleum of Shah Arzani is
the *idgah* constructed by Ibadullah Shah who was seventh in
succession to the saint Shah Arzani. It was built in 1258 A. H.

Inscription.

کعبه نظیر عید کعبه عرش رسعت
تعمیر چوں خلیفه شیم نمود¹
پرسید عبرتی سنہ ازارا ز غیب گفت
سنہ یکہزار و در صد پنجاه و ہشت بود

Translation.

The Kaaba like *idgah* which is as extensive as heaven,
When the caliph like.....constructed it,
Ibrati asked its date and he was told invisibly,
"It was one thousand two hundred and fifty-eight."

No. 96.

Khadim Ali's Mosque.

Khadim Ali's mosque is in Golakpur about 2 miles east of
Gola. The mosque which is now in a ruinous condition was

¹. The second verse of the inscription could not be read properly. It seems
that some word is missing.

built in 1258 A. H. The inscription has come out of its place and is kept in a house near by.

Inscription.

مسجدے خادم علي كرده بنا
 کان پسند چشم هر کس آمده
 از خرد جستم چو تاربخش بگفت
 ثانی بیت المقدس آمده
 سنه ۱۲۵۸ هجري

Translation.

Khadim Ali constructed the mosque,
 Which was liked by every body,
 When I enquired of its date from wisdom, it said,
 "It is a second temple of Jerusalem."

1258 A. H.

No. 97.

Ibadullah Shah's Mausoleum.

Ibadullah Shah's mausoleum is within the compound of Shah Arzani's *dargah* about 3 miles east of Gola. He died in 1260 A. H.

Inscription.

جانشين شاه ارزان چرن جنيد * يافته تا درات قرب الله
 گفت سال رحلتش را عبرتی * زين جهان رفته عباد الله شاه
 سنه ۱۲۶۰ هـ

Translation.

When the Junaid like successor of Shah Arzan,
 Found the wealth of proximity to God,
 Ibrati said the chronogram of his death,
 "Ibadullah Shah passed away from this world".

1260 A.H.

No. 98.

Alamgunge Mosque.

The Alamgunge mosque is on the main road in Alamgunge about 4 miles east of Gola. It belongs to the Shia Community and was built in 1261 A. H.

Inscription.

آن مسجدیکه بهر سجدون نمازیان
 اول علی عظیم بنایش نهاده بود
 از هم شکست مثل دل حضرت بلال
 چون فرق سجده زیر بخاک افتاده بود
 بار دگر چو میر سعادت علی بدهر
 بهر درستی کف همت گشاده بود
 از امر ار غلام حسین خوش اعتقاد
 تعمیر آن بطرز خجسته نهاده بود
 جز خانه خدا سده تعمیر زیر چرخ
 در گوش عبرتی نه ز هائف نهاده بود
 سده ۱۲۶۱

Translation.

The mosque which for the prayer of the devotees,
 Ali Azim had at first constructed,
 Broke down like the heart of Hazrat Balal, ¹
 When it fell head like in prostration.
 A second time Mir Saadat Ali
 Had shown generosity by constructing it.
 By his order Gholam Husain of good belief
 Built it in an auspicious way.
 For its date of construction except the "house of God"
 Nothing did reach Ibrati's ears from the latent informer.
 1261.

No. 99.**Najaf Ali's Tomb.**

Najaf Ali died in 1261 A. H. and his tomb is near Moghal-pura in the city.

¹ Hazarat Balal was the Abyssinian companion of the prophet who used to cry the call of prayers in mosque. The reference is to the fact that he was very much disturbed after the death of the prophet.

Inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 دريغا آن امام رقبه دين چراغ افروز راه بزم ارشاد
 فقيه و عالم و علامه عصر اساس رعه را بود است بنياد
 نجف را با على چون¹ كه نام نامي پاكش دهد ياد
 سرورش غيب سال رحلتش خرواند ستون كعبه دين حيف افتاد
 ۱۲۶۱
 كتبه السيد مورتضى النونهرى محمد صادق ذاکر كنده نمود
 سبط سيد مرحوم

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.
 Alas! that priest and leader of religion,
 The kindler of the lamp of society of religious orders,
 The theologian, the sage and the most learned of his time,
 Who was the foundation of piety (died).
 When Najaf is (joined) with Ali²
 Whose name reminds to the holy name,³
 An angel of paradise said his date of death,
 "Alas the pillar of Kaaba of religion (thus) fell down"
 1261.

Written by Syed Murtuza Mohammad Sadiq Zakir
 Nohnahravi, son of Syed inscribed it.
 deceased.

No. 100.**Heengan's Mosque.**

Heengan's mosque is in Kamangar Gali about 5½ miles east of Gola. It was built in 1261 A. H. by Heengan who was a dancing girl.

Inscription.

این خانه خدا هست زیبجی قائم
 ۱۲۶۱

Translation.

This "house of God" exist through the help of Beji.⁴

1261.

1. One of the words of the third verse in the inscription could not be read.

2. This line is not clear in the inscription

3. The reference about holy name is to Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet.
 Beji was Heengan's daughter.

No. 101.

Dafali's mosque.

The mosque built by Mohon, the wife of a *dafali* or drum maker, which is known as the *Dafali's* mosque is on the main road on the north-side of it in Sultangunge about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Gola. It was built in 1263-A. H.

Inscription.

بجہ وجہ چر تعمیر کرک مسجد خام
نکر سرشتہ موهن زن ربانہ ساز
بگفتہ سئل بنایش زورے دل فرحت
بیا بمسجد حق با ادب نماز گزار
سنہ ۱۲۶۳
تعمیدہ چار عدد

Translation.

When the good natured Mohon, the wife of a drum-maker,
Constructed the mud built ¹ mosque with great endeavour,
Farhat said from his heart the date of construction (thus),
"Come in the mosque of God and pray respectfully,"²

1263,

Addition 4.

No. 102.

Wahid Ali's mosque.

The mosque known as Wahid Ali's mosque is on the main road in Chowk about 6 miles east of Gola. The inscription shows that it was built by a merchant named Wahid Ali in 1263-A. H. but the mosque seems to have been only rebuilt in that year and as its plinth and the shops attached to it are very old. Perhaps this is the mosque which was known as Shaista Khan's mosque and was built by Nawab Shaista Khan at the close of the seventeenth century.³

the mosque is brick built.

² بیا بمسجد حق با ادب نماز گزار gives 1259.

³ Both Mr. O'Malley, and Mr. James mention it in their Patna Gazetteers as Shaista Khan's mosque. Mr. R. L. Sinha in "Pataliputra" speaks of it as such, but it is locally known as Wahid Ali's mosque.

Inscription.

بهنگام احسن بفضل الله
چو واحد علی تاجر با سخا
بنا کرد مسجد و هاتف بگفت در آیند عابد بخانه خدا

سنه ۱۲۶۳

Translation.

In an auspicious time by the grace of God,
When Wahid Ali the generous merchant,
Constructed the mosque, the latent speaker said,
"The devotees may come in the house of God",
1263.

No. 103.**Shish Mahal private mosque.**

The private mosque at Shish Mahal was constructed by one Hakim Zulfaqar Ali Khan of Agra in 1264-A. H. It is in Shish Mahal, a quarter of the City about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Gola.

Inscription.

کرد بهر نماز خرد تعمیر نه بے غیر مذهبان کثیر
مسجد بیستی ذوالفقار علی از برای رضای رب قدیر
در صد و یک هزار شصت چهار بود از هجرت رسول کبیر
حکیم ذوالفقار علی خان رضی الحسینی اثنای عشری اکبرآبادی
بصرف یک هزار و در صد و پانزده ریپیه مسجد در سنه ۱۲۶۴ هجری
بعرصه یک سال تیار ساخت

Translation.

For the gratification of God,
Zulfaqar Ali constructed the private mosque,
To say his own prayers,
And not for the numerous followers of other beliefs,
It was one thousand two hundred and sixty-four,
Of the Hijri of the great Prophet,
Hakim Zulfaqar Ali Khan Raziul Husaini Asnai Ashri
Akbarabadi built this mosque in 1264-A. H. in one year at a
cost of rupees one thousand, two hundred and fifteen.

No. 104.

City Court mosque.

The mosque known as City Court mosque which is on the main road near the Patna City Court was built by one Paember Bux in 1265-A. H.

Inscription.

یافت چون مسجد خجسته بنا اختتام از ید پیمبر بخش
خامه تاریخش از سر برکت زن زن رقم مسجد پیمبر بخش¹

Translation.

When the construction of this auspicious mosque,
Ended from the hands of Paember Baksh,
The pen through blessings,
Wrote "Mosque of Paembar Baksh".

No. 105.

Mir Abdullah's tomb.

Mir Abdullah who was also called Mir Gadahia was the father of Nawab Lutf Ali Khan, C.I.E., of Guzri family. He left a very large fortune when he died in 1265-A. H. Both the side of the headstone of his tomb have got inscriptions.

Inscription on one side.

صاحب این قبر مرمن بود پاک عقیده تا عمر هشتاد و هفت
سال زر فراوان اندرخت و بعزائی خاص آل عبا خیرات مبرات
بسیار خرج ساخت و از امثال و افران گزئی سبقت ربن آخرکار
بتاریخ ۳۰ محرم بگذشت² کهنه از شب پنجشنبه همه
جاء و دولت را گذاشته تہی دست بعالم اقدس ارتحال نمود
و جز دولت دین چیزے با خود نبرد فاعبروا یا اولی الابصار

¹ 1265 = مسجد پیمبر بخش is equal to 2 thus the total is 1265.

² For the description of Guzri family see Mr. James' Patna Gazetteer pages 139-140.

³ Some words are missing.

رئیس زمان میر عبدالله چرن
 دلش گشت مشتاق سیر جنان
 بیاراست براتن قباے ممات
 بعزم سفر بست محکم میان
 نور دید مرگش بساط حیات
 بر سر رفت ازین بزم دامن فشان
 بمن گفت محزون ز سال رحیل
 هزار در صد شصت پنجم بدان

Translation.

The person buried here was a believer with pious intentions.
 He amassed a vast fortune for eighty-seven years and he spent
 much in charity and beneficence over the mourning for the fifth
*Aly aaba*¹ and exceeded the richest men who were example for
 it. At last on the night of Thursday the 30th Moharram...he
 passed to the holy region empty handed leaving all the wealth
 and dignity and he did not carry with him anything except the
 wealth of religion. Ponder over this, oh people of vision !

When the heart of Mir Abdullah, the prince of his time
 became fond for the paradise,

He put on his body the robe of death and he bound his
 waist fast for the journey,

Death folded the carpet of his life and he passed away
 from this showy assembly.

About the date of his death Mahzun told me "Know it
 to be one thousand one hundred and sixty-four".

Inscription on the other side of the stone.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 چو عبدالله والا قدر ذی جاه
 بعکم ایزدی زیر زمین خفت
 بگرش عبرتی از چرخ جبرئیل
 سن رحلت شفیعش پنچتن گفت

۱۲۶۵

1 By fifth *آل مه* is meant Imam Hussain, the grandson of the Prophet.

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.

When the worthy and magnificent Abdullah

Slept below the earth by God's command,

From the heaven Gabriel said in Ibrati's ears

About the date of his death " His patrons are the five holy persons¹".

1265.

No. 106.**Mehdi Ali Khan's tomb.**

Mehdi Ali Khan was the brother of Mir Abdullah the inscriptions on whose tomb are recorded above. He lies buried near the tomb of his brother in the cemetery near Gulzarbagh railway station. He was the father of Nawab Vilayet Ali Khan who became very prominent in the Mutiny of 1857 A.D. Mehdi Ali Khan died in 1266 A.H.

Inscription.

یا خیر الغفرین
 گریم نه چرا مهدی علی خان ز جهان رفت
 نالم نه چرا حاتم فیاض زمان رفت
 در سر هوس خلد برین داشت کز اینجا
 برابرش ثابت چنین گرم عذای رفت
 میکرد بهر خلق خدا بسکه مروت
 هر فرد بشر در غم او نعره زمان رفت
 شد گوش ملائک چو صدق آبله زار
 تا نوحه او اهل جهان را بزبان رفت
 در ماتم او گشت فلک از چه سیه پوش
 بر عرش زیارانش مگر دود فغان رفت
 تا نوحه از سنگ شده زینب مزارش
 صد کوه ستم بر سر پیروز جوان رفت
 هر سوخته جانے که سر تربتش آید
 چرخ شمع مزارش زالم اشک فشان رفت

¹ پنجتن or the five holy persons are Prophet Mohammad, Ali, Fatma, Hassan and Hossin.

سہ شنبہ بد و چارم شوال کہ چون گل
 داعی زین لاله ستان رفت
 بنگاشت سن رحلت او عبرتی زار
 والا مسمی باکرے سرے جنان رفت
 بروز سہ شنبہ چہارم ماہ شوال سنہ ۱۲۶۶ الہ دران مہدی علی خان
 از این جہان فانی رحلت فرمود -

Translation.

O the best of forgivers
 In the name of God the Merciful and Clement
 Why should I not weep? Mehdi Ali Khan passed away from
 this world.
 Why should I not lament? The generous Hatim¹ of his
 time is dead.
 He had a desire to go to paradise, it was for this that
 His bier was carried rapidly on the cloud;
 He was very generous to all the people,
 Therefore every one of them was crying with sorrow;
 The ears of the angels were swollen like oyster,
 As all the people were lamenting for him.
 How is it that the sky has become black in mourning for
 him?
 It seems that the smoke of lamentation from his friends went
 up to the heaven.
 Ever since he died, young and old were much oppressed.
 Every burnt heart that came on his grave
 Went away shedding tears like the candle on his tomb.
 It was Tuesday the fourth of Shawwal when like a rose
 *.....he went away from this garden.
 The sorrowful Ibrati, wrote the date of his death
 "The well known generous person went to the parad ise."
 On Tuesday the 4th of Shawwal 1266 of the era Mehdi
 Ali Khan passed away from this transient world.

¹ Hatim is name of Arabian King proverbial for generosity.

² This could not be read in the inscription as it was not clear.

No. 107.

Nai Sarak mosque.

The Nai Sarak mosque is on the main road at Hajigunj where the Nai Sarak or the New Road joins it. It is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Gola and was built by Kulsum-un-nisa in 1270 A.H.

Inscription.

مسجد عالی بتوفیق خدا کن عبادت خانه باشد گدا و شاه را
هاتف غیب این تاریخ بگفت کرد کلثوم النساء بنیاد بیت الله را
۱۲۷۰

Translation.

The great mosque which by the grace of God
Is a house of prayer for the rich and poor,
The latent informer.....said its chronogram¹
"Kulsum-un-nisa constructed the house of God."

1270.

No. 108.

Mian Khan's tomb.

Mian Khan was the son of Shaikh Barkat in the compound of whose mosque he is buried. Shaikh Barkat's mosque is in Moghalpora, a quarter of the city. Mian Khan died in 1271 A.H.

Inscription.

میان خان کہ در علقوان شباب
بساط حیاتش قضا در نوشت
در شبہ چہارم زمانہ صیام
رزان شد پیے سیر باغ بہشت
بلوح مزارش خرد سال فوت
قضا نوجوان پیے ہی نوشت
۱۲۷۱ ہجری النبی صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم

¹ Some words in the third line could not be read.

Translation.

Mian Khan in the beginning of whose youth
 Death was written on the carpet of his life,
 Started on Monday the fourth of month of fast¹
 For a walk in the garden of paradise.

On the headstone of his tomb about the date of his death,
 wisdom

Wrote "the death of the youth".

1271 Hijri of the Prophet may be blessing of God be on
 him and peace.

No. 109.**Shaikh Heingan's mosque.**

Shaikh Heingan's mosque is situated in Nagla about 7
 miles east of Gola. It was built by him in 1271 A.H.

Inscription.

با صدق و صفا چو شیخ هیکن
 کرد از سر نو بنائے خانہ
 شہرست پے یاد کار عالم
 تاریخ بگر خدائے خانہ
 فی ۱۲۷۱ ہجری

Translation.

As Shaikh Heingan with truth and conviction
 Newly constructed the house
 Which is famous for being a monument of its time,
 Say its chronogram "House of God".

In 1271 A. H.

No. 110.**Mohammadi Khanum's tomb.**

The Shia cemetery situated near the Gulzarbagh railway
 station has some old tombs the inscription of two² of which
 have already been described. In it there is the tomb of a lady
 named Mohammadi Khanum who died in 1272 A.H.

¹ i.e. the month of Ramzan.

² Those of Mir Abdullah (no. 105) Mehdi Ali Khan (No. 106).

Inscription.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 بنال فرقتے خستہ دل بماتم از
 کہ مرد زوجه خوبت محمدی خانم
 چو از برہ زنی پاکدامن بجهان
 ندای عصمت ران نیکخو دل رجائے
 ربیع ازل و تاریخ بود سیزدهم
 کہ ریخت خاک مصیبت بہ فرق سایانم
 ہریں کشاکش ماتم کہ ہر نفس ملک
 چو شعلہ بر بکشدست آہ و فغانم
 بہ فکر سال رحلتش جگر طپان بودم
 کہ سوے خلد بریں شدہ گفت رضوانم
 ۱۲۷۲ ھ

Translation.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.

My heart is broken with lamentation for the separation of the good lady Mohammadi Khanum who is dead.

As she was a pious lady in this world, my heart is a sacrifice for her chastity.

It was the thirteenth of the first Rabi that this calamity fell on my head.

In mourning intensely for her all the people of the country are drawing sighs like flames.

My heart was palpitating in search of the date when Rizwan¹ said "She went towards the paradise."

1272 A.H.

No. 111.

Baqargunge lane mosque.

The mosque in Baqargunge lane which is about 6 furlongs east of Gola was built by one Tabarak Ali in 1275 A. H.

¹. The angel at the gate of the paradise.

Inscription.

مسجد مرتفع بنا فرمود چون تبارک علی پاک سرشت
 کلک نکبت بسال تعمیرش کعبه نو بہند ساخت نوشت
 فی سنہ ۱۲۷۵

Translation.

When Tabarak Ali of holy disposition
 Built this high mosque,
 The odoriferous pen for its date of construction
 Wrote " He built a new Kaaba in India ".

In 1275 A. H.

No. 112.**Headstone of Latifan's tomb.**

There is a headstone of a tomb of a lady named Bibi Latifan kept in a niche in Haji Chand's mosque which seems to have been brought from the grave-yard to the north of the mosque which has been turned into vegetable garden. She died in 1276.

Inscription.

چو رفتہ سیدہ بی بی لطیفاً سرے باغ ارم با صد تأسف
 بجستم عبرتی سال وفاتش سرے خلد بریں شد گفت هاتف
 ۱۲۷۲

Translation.

When Syeda Bibi Latifan went
 Towards the garden of paradise, with great regret
 Ibrati, I searched the date of her death.
 "She went toward sublime paradise" said the latent
 informer.

1276.

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IV.—Report of anthropological work in 1929-30 :

The Peoples of Burma.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B.L., M.L.C.

During the year ending March 1930, besides making several tours in the Chota Nagpur districts and one in the Santal Parganas to study the ethnology of those tracts, I made a tour in Burma to make a rough preliminary survey of the Burmans and the hill-tribes of that Province and particularly the Mons or Talaings whose language belongs to the same Austro-Asiatic family to which the Munda languages of India belong.

I must record my grateful thanks to the Chief Secretary and the Education Secretary of the Burma Government for the kind help that I received at their hands. I also owe thanks to many Indian friends for their kind help.

Burma is indeed a most promising field for anthropological investigation. The peoples of Burma the **Burmese** (leaving aside the immigrant Indians and Chinese) have hitherto been generally classified on a linguistic and not on a racial basis, for no adequate analysis of ethnic types appears to have been yet made. On linguistic grounds, the population of Burma is grouped into three divisions of the Indo-Chinese family, namely, Tibeto-Burman, Tai, and Mon-Khmer. This classification leaves out of account the nomadic sea-faring and fishing tribe of the Mergui Archipelago, known as the Mawkens or **Indonesian** (Salongs). **Selungs or Salons**, who are regarded as the nearest representatives of the sub-merged Nesiote or Indonesian race with a Proto-Malay (Oceanic Mongol) mixture.

To the Tibeto-Burman group (who migrated to Burma from Western China) belong the comparatively civilised Burmans of the Central valleys of the Irawaddy, the wild Chins or Kukis of the Western Hills and plateaus, the semi-savage Singphos or Kachin tribes of the far north and north-west, and the Arakanese besides some other minor tribes such as the Inthas and the Lahus or Muhsos of the Shan States, the Akhas or Kaws of Kengtung, and the silk-weaving Yabeins of Lower Burma.

To the Siamese-Chinese group belong the Tai or Shans of the Shan States in the north-east and Siamese-Chinese. east and the Karens in the east and throughout the Irrawaddy delta. One branch of the Tai or Shans, known as Ahoms, conquered what is now Assam from the Kachâris (Bcô) in the 16th century and gave its name to that Province.

To the Mon-Khmer group belong the Mons or Muns or Mon-Khmer. Talaings of Pegu and Tenasserim Divisions, the Palaungs of the Shan States besides the Wäs and the Riangs of Upper Burma and the Shan States.

Although practically all the Burmese peoples, with the exception of the Selungs or 'Sea-Gypsies' of the Mergui Archipelago, belong to the Southern Mongoloid or 'Pareoen' branch of the Mongolian division of mankind, traces of non-Mongoloid racial elements are noticeable, more or less, in

Traces of Non-Mongoloid elements. most and perhaps all the tribes and peoples. Though predominantly brachycephalic in type, all the tribes exhibit some dolichocephalic elements. Though

generally the peoples of Burma have little hair on the face and body, I met with several Talaings in the Thaton and Amherst districts with well-grown beards and some hair on the chest and generally with finer features than those of the average Burman. The practice of picking out hair from the

chin and cheeks is in vogue among this tribe. The Talaing woman, in particular, appears to possess finer features than the average Burmese woman. And other ethnic elements besides Mongoloid have certainly entered into their composition.

In a rubber plantation in the Thaton district I had the opportunity of seeing side by side a number of Talaings, Karens and Tungthus besides a few Chins, and it appeared to me there were more or less definite differences in type between the flat-nosed, large-calved, stout Chin, the flat-faced, serious-looking Karen with his high cheek bones and wide bridgeless and deep-set eyes, the less Mongoloid-looking Tungthu, and the fairer, taller, sturdier and more fine-looking Talaing. Later on, when I visited the Shan States and saw the rather small-nosed, large-mouthed but on the whole well-formed features and fair complexion of the Shan, the inference appeared probable that some Caucasian blood at some period of their racial history must have entered into the composition of this people. Among the Kachins or Singphos, too, of whom I met only a few, some Caucasian elements appeared to me to be noticeable. All these observations are based on mere personal impressions, but adequate anthropometrical measurements require to be collected to find out what differences, if any, exist between the respective anthropometric indices for these different tribes.

The fact that the peoples of Burma with the exception of most of the hill tribes follow the same Buddhist religion and mix freely with each other, generally recognise no bar to intermarriage, have more or less general similarity in economic habits and social customs,—all these appear to have resulted in an apparent outward uniformity of the population.

And we find more than one writer opining that the peoples of Burma exhibit a more or less uniform type of general physical features, and that the different communities do not show any tendency to develop distinct types of their own. It appears to me, however, that in spite

**Diversity amid
general similarity.**

of a certain amount of general similarity, the different tribes of Burma do exhibit characteristic differences not only in physical features and dress and other outward habits but also in temperament, mental traits and in details of social customs. The observant sojourner in Burma before long learns to distinguish the easy-going, good-natured, laughter-loving, witty, artistically inclined and extravagant Burman from the stolid, reserved and cautious Karen, the quiet, good-humoured, liberty-loving Kachin, the peaceable, polite, open-minded, simple and trustful Talaing or Mon, the quiet, good-humoured Tai, or Shan, and the mild Palaung among whom different clans wear distinctive dresses.

**Physical features
and mental characteristics.**

The brave and free, energetic and ingenious, opium-eating and drink-loving, Wä or Vu, with his swarthy complexion, short stature, highly developed legs, muscular build, round head, square face, heavy jaws and broad nose, presents markedly different characteristics, physical and cultural, from most of his neighbours. He is an industrious cultivator who, however, hunts or almost until recently hunted for human heads, ordinarily in March and April, for use as offerings to the spirits in order to prevent failure of crops, and occasionally at other seasons when threatened with drought in the land or pestilence among men and cattle, or when a new village has to be founded. The skulls, when bleached, are arranged in niches in a row of stout posts by the road side. Each Wä family has its house substantially built of timber and wattle, usually protected with a fencing, a little apart from that of his neighbours, and each village is surrounded by a thick earthen rampart overgrown with dense bushes and shrubs, and further protected by an outer barrier of a deep ditch all round; and in many villages may be seen a long tunnel at one or two sides of the village through which alone access to the village is possible. The only dress of the male Wä is a waist-cloth, which is striped in different patterns or different colours for the five different clans of the Tame Wäs, though no such

distinction in dress appears to be observed among the two clans of the Wild Wä. It may be noted here that among the Akha tribes of the eastern hills, the head-dress of women varies with the clan.

I shall not in this short report enter into the differences in habitations, dress and ornaments, and economic culture of the different tribes and describe such peculiarities as the 'long houses' accommodating several families of the Palaungs and some Chin and Kachin tribes, the pile-dwellings among the Chinbons and Chinboks, the Bachelors' huts (*dumnta*) of some Kachin or Singpho tribes and similar huts (*haws*) of the Swang-tung Karens, the head-bands of the Palaungs, the solid coil upon coil of brass neck-rings of Padaung women and the rattan leg-rings of the Loilong Karens and of the Marus, Lashis and Sizes, the ear-tubes and chicken bone ear-ornaments used by Wä women, the ornamented bags of the Kachins, the Shans and the Palaungs, the wide trousers and the broad-rimmed flapping woven grass hats of the Shans, the plaits of metal on the edge of jackets worn by Palaung women, the hempen garments of the Lisaws, the enormously tall turbans of folded dark-blue cloth used by Singpho women, the practice among Akha women of letting down their hair over the brows, and among Lisaw women of doing up their hair in horns above the ears, the practice among the Kadus of staining their teeth, the practice of the *taunggyia* or *jhum* cultivation of some of the tribes (such as the Singphos, Marus, Lashis, Szis), the use of poisoned arrows and cross-bows by the Talaings, Lisaws, Lahus, Karens and several other tribes, the practice of harpooning the devil fish and other fishing customs of the Salons, and so forth. I shall only refer briefly to some social and religious customs of some of the different tribes.

As in physical features, mental characteristics, and economic culture, so also in social customs and institutions and religious beliefs and practices, there is a considerable diversity in the midst of more or less general uniformity among the various peoples of Burma. Thus, with regard to customs relating to

birth, childhood and puberty, courtship, and marriage, illness and death, although there is a certain amount of general similarity in their broad features, there are notable variations and differences in details.

Whereas birth-pollution is observed generally by all the tribes, a striking peculiarity in the custom of the White (Mepu) Karens is

Social Customs.

that no one is permitted to leave the village until the umbilical

Birth Customs.

cord of a new-born babe has been cut and the fact of the cutting is announced by the bursting of a bamboo. Again, whereas burial

of the umbilical cord and the placenta is the general rule, the White Karens place them in a small bamboo tube and hang them up in a tree, and the Bre Karens fix the sealed bamboo tube (*Kyidauk*), by means of four pegs to a tree near the village.

Among childhood customs, I may briefly refer to the tattooing of the body. Whereas

Tattooing.

tattooing the thighs from waist to the knees of men is fairly common among the Burmans and most other peoples of Burma, the Chins of the northern Chin Hills do not practise tattooing but women of the Southern and Central Chin Hills tattoo their faces in different patterns and sometimes even their breasts, the Red Karens tattoo the rising Sun on their backs, Loilong Karens tattoo squares under their chins, and Kachin women in the far north occasionally tattoo a series of parallel rings from the knee downwards. The Talaings follow the Burmese practice of tattooing just as they have adopted the Burmese dress, although it is reported that the Talaings in Siam do not tattoo.

Though the custom of *couvade* is generally absent among the people of Burma, there is some trace of it among the Sawng-tung Karens.

Couvade.

When the time for parturition of a woman approaches, her husband is not permitted to leave the village and he has to attend to all household duties for thirty days from the birth of

the baby. The woman may not take any food except what has been prepared by her husband.

Although in some of the ruder tribes (such as the Wäs, most Chin tribes, etc.,) the parents arrange

Courtship Customs.

a marriage and the wishes of the girl are not consulted, courtship before marriage is a general custom in Burma. This goes on in the evenings at about 9 p.m. after the adult people have retired, but strict decency is maintained and both youth and maid are, in the beginning at any rate, accompanied by companions. Of the Mons or Talaings it is reported by a Burmese writer that "young men court girls from below the house in the floor of which is a small hole for putting their hands through" (*Man in India*, Vol. II, p. 186).

A most interesting and novel courtship custom is that reported to be in vogue amongst the Palaungs, the westernmost Mon-Khmer tribe in Burma. Once a year, on an appointed day, all the marriageable young men of a village band together and, at night, when the older people have gone to sleep, go to the houses of all the marriageable maids and with strict decorum pull them about. The girls being thus prepared for being wooed, the young men meet together three days later and draw lots. The names of the youths and the maidens are written on slips of paper which are drawn together in pairs. After this, presents of handkerchiefs etc. are exchanged between each young man and the maid whose name he has drawn in the lottery. Each lad being thus provided with a girl to be courted and won, he begins his courtship at the usual 'lads-go-courting-time' and goes on pressing his suit evening after evening till the girl's affections are won. When the couple are agreed, the maid elopes with her lover on an appointed night, leaving a packet of tobacco and some rice by way of intimation to her parents. Next morning there is a make-believe search for the couple followed by a formal proposal of marriage and the usual marriage feast in which the village elders pronounce a blessing on the wedded pair.

Payment of bride-price is customary among several tribes, but the medium of payment varies, the price being paid in cash in some tribes (such as the Lisaws and Akhas, etc.), in buffaloes or dogs or fowls in some other tribes (such as the Wäs) and so forth. *Mithuns*, slaves, gongs, guns, beads and grain all variously figure in the bride-price in different Chin tribes. The giving of personal service for a fixed period in lieu of bride-price is in vogue among some Kachin tribes and others.

In this connection it will not be out of place to note that the general medium of exchange varies among different tribes in Burma; thus, the *Mithun* serves as the medium of exchange among the northern Chin tribes; ear-rings serve as such among both the northern and southern Chins, opium among the Kachins, brass gongs among some tribes in the unadministered area on the Assam border, and so forth. The Salongs exchange snails, rice, mats, cooking pots and sea-slugs etc. for commodities of civilization.

Although courtship is prevalent throughout Burma, and marriage by payment of a bride-price is common, marriage by elopement or a simulation of elopement is occasionally practised by some tribes, as, for example, the Talaings. Again, among the Lisaws or Mushos (a Eastern Tibeto-Burman tribe of the Salween valley) after the wedding feast the bride retires with her parents to a mountain where she must be sought by the bridegroom.

Old bachelors are rare in Burma outside the monasteries. Among the Karens, when an unmarried adult of either sex dies, the corpse is, before burial, knocked against a stump which is taken to represent husband or wife, as the case may be. Among the Swang-tung Karens, however, may be seen many grey-haired bachelors and spinisters, who have not obtained mates. This is due to the peculiar marriage regulations of the tribe which not only restrict the choice of mates only to near relations with the approval of the elders, but further requires that only certain villages may intermarry with certain other villages.

Generally speaking, marriage is a purely civil ceremony in Burma, and its essence consists in the couple going to live together. It is the publicity given to it by a wedding feast which makes the contract of marriage binding. In many cases, however, the marriage contract is further strengthened by the couple eating food together; but generally no religious rites are performed. At the marriage of Shan Chiefs and certain other Shans of high social status, however, long invocations in the Pali language are recited and the hands of the bridegroom and bride are ceremonially tied together in Hindu fashion. This tying together of the hands is the only marriage ceremony among some tribes such as the Kaws. Among the Kadus of the Katha district, a tribe of Shan and Burmese half breeds, the bridegroom is required to ask, in the presence of the elders of the community, for the hand of the bride from the *Nat* or spirit of the house as well as from her parents, and after their hands are joined, the couple have to walk hand in hand to the foot of the stairs and to *shikho* to the *Nat* of the house. The Taungthu bridegroom, too, has to demand his bride from the house-spirit of the bride's father.

Although polygamy is generally allowed, it is very seldom practised, and among the Kaws, a man is strictly restricted to one wife, and it is imperative for a younger brother to marry a deceased elder brother's widow (as among the Singphos), so that sometimes a man has two or even three wives owing to the death of more than one elder brother. The Karens, too, are monogamous, but on account of the barrenness of the married wife, some Karens keep a concubine or secondary wife called "*ma po tha*". Such irregular unions are not recognized by society. Among some of the tribes of the Southern Chin Hills (such as the Hakas, Soktes, etc.), slaves may not marry but either cohabit with other slaves or are treated as concubines by the Chiefs.

Although tribal endogamy or marriage within the tribe is the general rule, there is no such restriction among the

Shans, and a Shan may marry a person of any tribe or religion; and some of the Chin Hill tribes such as the Soktes, and Kanhows intermarry. On the other hand, among the Kachins or Singphos a man is not permitted to marry a woman having the same surname, and cross-cousin marriage is the preferential form of mating. The general rule among the Kachins appears to be for a man to marry the daughter of a mother's brother or, failing that, some other cousin on the female side; and the forbidden degrees of consanguinity are parents and grand-parents, children and grand-children, father's brother's child, father's sister's child and mother's sister's child. Among the Szi tribe of Kachins there are definite rules restricting the union of certain families with certain other families, somewhat resembling the marriage-class system of the Australian aborigines. Thus the men of the Hpan Yan, Laban, Malang, Mislú, Sin Hang and Taw Shi families may take wives only from Chumlut families, whereas Chumlut women may not take husbands from the above families but must seek their consorts from other families such as Jang Maw, Lumaw, Tum Maw, Num Taw, *etc.*

Among the Kachins a male slave can marry a free woman, but the issue become slaves to the slave's master though he does not pay for the woman.

In this connection it may be noted that slavery has been a general custom among the Kachins, the Chins, the Lisaws, and the Karens.

Slavery. When their crops fail, the Akhas sell themselves and their family as slaves. Slavery is, however, gradually dying out. It has now altogether disappeared among the Karens.

Divorce and remarriage of widows are generally permitted in Burma though, strictly speaking, in some communities, such as the Kachins, custom does not sanction divorce, because a bride, though actually married to an individual, is taken for the clan, and on the death of her husband, passes to another male of the clan. Among the Buddhist population the position of women is

Divorce and Widow-marriage.

generally high. But it is not so among some tribes such as the Kadus of the Katha district. Among the Akhas, only men may dance but not women. Among the Karens, in early times, it is reported, widows as well as orphans and persons having improper relations used to be expelled from the village in order to protect the other villagers from incurring the wrath of the spiteful spirit. But now although widows continue to live in their deceased husband's houses, when they become old and dependent on their relations for support, they are generally neglected.

Burial underground is the usual mode of disposal of the remains of the dead in Burma. Most

Funeral customs. tribes such as the Palaungs bury the dead bodies of all except monks and members of the Chief's family, and the Kaws and Akhas use trunks of trees hollowed for a coffin. The Chins of the Central and Southern Chin Hills, on the other hand, burn their dead and bury the ashes under stones and place food over their graves; and the Marus (the only Kachin tribe who practise cremation) and Lashis (a hybrid between Chinese and Kachin) also burn their dead and raise conical structures over the ashes. Cremation is the usual mode of disposal of the dead among the Talaings except in the case of persons dying of contagious diseases. The Siyins, a Chin tribe, dry the corpse by placing it on a board under which fires are lighted and kept burning until the corpse mummifies; the shrivelled corpse is then swathed round in rags and placed on a shelf in the house or in a coffin under the floor of the house. At the funeral feast, which may be delayed for a year or two, the mummified corpse is brought out, tied to a bamboo frame and carried to the cemetery in a dancing procession in which the corpse is also swayed to and fro so as to appear dancing; and then the corpse is placed in an open coffin on a raised platform and exposed to the weather so that in a few months the bones only are left, and finally the bones are collected and buried in an earthen pot in the ground. In Chinbok and Yindu villages may be seen large cemeteries in which the charred

bones of the dead collected in earthen urns, lie buried and covered over with stone slabs some of which are of enormous size. These remind us of the cemeteries in the Munda country of Chota Nāgpur and the Khasi Hills of Assam. The Mon-Khmer-speaking Wā generally bury their adult dead at the foot of the steps leading up to the house.

The Salons of the Mergui Archipelago abandon a dying relative the moment his body begins to get cold and, after placing some rice, water and matches near the dying man, his people sail away and put up a new encampment elsewhere. But some of his male relatives return to the island two or three days later and call to the dying man from some distance. If he responds to the call, he is taken to the new encampment and again taken care of; if he gives no answer, a rough bamboo platform about a yard high is built on rough tree trunks and the body laid out on it, and near the body are left a torch, a *dah*, a plate, a cup and flint or matches for the man to use either in this world if he revives or otherwise in the world of spirits (*nat-pyi*).

Although Buddhism of the Pali or Hinayana school with a considerable Mahayanist influence is the

Religion.

official religion of Burma, the propitiation of *Nats* constitutes the vital concern of the Burman and the Talaing, the Shan and the Karen, the Kadu and the Taungthu, the Palaung and the Riang, the Lahu and the Musho, almost as much as of the ruder hill tribes who have not yet come within the influence of the religion of Buddha. Propitiation of *Nats* or spirits of various grades residing in hills, trees and other natural objects is almost the sole religion of the Kachin, the Chin, the Karen, the Maru, most Wās, the Salons and other non-Christian and non-Buddhist hill-tribes. The religion of the Akha or Kaw is concerned mainly with the propitiation of ancestor-spirits regarded as malignant powers who may do them harm if neglected; and the western door of an Akha's house is especially reserved for the use of the ancestor-spirits, and neither any stranger nor a female member of the family is permitted to enter by the west door; and the religion of the

Lisaw is said to be in a transitional stage between ancestor-worship and simple spirit-worship. Among the Akhas, each house has two hearths—one for ordinary use and another for the spirit called *Mihsa* which appears to be the spirit of ancestors. Only a member of the family is permitted to enter this inner hearth. The Kachins sprinkle towards the jungle a little of the blood of a slain animal to appease the *tsik'rat* or spirit who is described as "a sort of genius and not a *nat*", and who is believed to fascinate the game so that it may not move. This reminds one of the similar practice of Santal huntsmen of Chota Nagpur.

So great is the belief in *Nats*, that when a Burman builds a new dwelling house, or a rest-house or a monastery, a cloth is placed over the top of each post to cover the spirit who dwells in it. To prevent mischievous spirits from entering a village, Kachins, Akhas, Lahus and Wäs sometimes put up what has been called a 'spirit-gate.' In a Kachin village this consists of a cane suspended between two trees on either side of the approach road to the village. From this cane are suspended quaint magical figures in the shape of circles, crosses, and other symbols made of split bamboo. In an Akha village the spirit-gate is the 'skeleton of a door', and in a Wä village it is an avenue of skulls as described above (p. 4 *ante*).

Among the Talaings or Mons, the *Kaloks* (spirits) take

Affinities of the Mons of Burma with the Munda tribes of India. in part the place of the Burmese *Nats*. One vital feature of the Talaing religion that struck me as affording undoubted testimony to the ancient Mon's or Talaing's ethnic affinity or at any rate intimate contact with the ancestors of the Mūṇḍā Tribes of Chōṭā Nagpur is the cult of the "house spirit" or clan spirit called *Kalok-sni* by the Talaings. This spirit would appear to be the counterpart of the clan-spirit called *Oṛā-bongā* or "house-spirit" *alias* "*Buru-Bongā*" (hill spirit) of some of the Mūṇḍā tribes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur such as the Tāmārias or Tāmāria Mūṇḍās and the Birhōrs. The Mūṇḍās of the central plateau of

Chōtā Nāgpur who are now a settled agricultural tribe have relegated the *Buru-Bongā* to a subsidiary position, it being now regarded as of less importance than the *hāprōm* or ancestor-spirits of the family to whom the name ' *Orā-bongāko* ' or house-spirits has been transferred.

A comparison of the account given of the ' *Kalok-sni* ' of the Talaings by Mr. Halliday in his monograph¹ on that tribe with the account of the ' *Buru Bongās* ' of the Birhōrs given in my monograph on the Birhōrs² and the reference to the ' *Buru-Bongās* ' of the Tāmārīā Mūṇḍās in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1925 (pp. 164-176), will show the marked resemblance between the cult of the "house-spirit" or clan-spirit of the Talaings, on the one hand, and of the Mūṇḍā tribes on the other. In fact, the word ' *kalok* ' may not improbably be in origin the same word as the ' *kili* ' (clan) of the Mūṇḍās. As with the Mūṇḍā tribes so also with the Mons or Talaings, the *Kalok* follows the male line. The Talaings keep the requisites for the worship of the *Kalok-sni* in a spirit-basket hung on the south-eastern post called 'spirit-post' (*dayuin kharon*) of the house. Just so do the Birhōrs keep the requisites for the worship of their *Orā-Bongā* or *Buru-Bongā* in a spirit-basket (*bongā-khancki*) which the migratory (*Uṭhlu*) section of the tribe carry with them in their wanderings, and the settled (*Jāghi*) section hang on a post in their huts. Just as Talaing families pertaining to the same *Kalok* join in a periodical feast of the *Kalok* dance so do Birhōr families pertaining to the same *kili* or clan and therefore having the same *Orā-Bongā* or *Buru-Bongā* join in an annual festival to offer sacrifices to their 'house-spirit' or clan-spirit. Just as the Talaing will tell you to which district of Burma their house-spirit belongs, so will the Birhōr tell you to which hill in Chōtā-Nāgpur his 'house-spirit' belongs. As, after marriage, a Talaing and his wife are required

¹The *Talaings* by R. Halliday (Government Press, Rangoon, 1917) pp. 95, etc.

²The *Birhōrs* by S. C. Roy (Ranchi, 1925), pp. 300—301, 337—339.

to perform the *lum ta* rite in honour of the family *Kalõk*, so too has the Birhōr and his bride shortly after their marriage to offer sacrifices to the 'house-spirit' (*Buru-Bongā*). The Talaings have their spirit-houses like the *Bongā-Oṛās* of the Birhōrs, their village-spirits (*ban jau*), like the *hātu bongās* of the Mūṇḍās, their sacred tabernacles inside the house (like the *āding* of the Mūṇḍā tribes) to which none but members of the family can have access; but as these occur among some other tribes as well and may be the products of similar reactions of the human mind to similar environmental and other conditions in different regions, we must leave them out of account in this connection.

In matters relating to birth, puberty, marriage and death, magic and witchcraft, religious festivals such as the water-festival,—various similarities in custom between the Mons or Talaings and the Mūṇḍā tribes might be mentioned, but as most of these are obviously due to the similarity of the working of the human mind among different peoples on the same level of culture in different regions, I shall not refer to them. Certain similarities in the physical features and economic culture might also perhaps have no ethnic significance. The similar shouldered neolithic celts found in the land of the Mūṇḍās, Hōs and Sāntāls, as well as in Burma and Assam, have been taken to form another link between the Mūṇḍā tribes of India, the Khāsis of Assam and the Mon Khmer tribes of Burma. But the racial and cultural history of the Talaings of Burma on the one hand and the Mūṇḍā tribes of India on the other have been so different and have become so complicated, that at the present day it is mainly, if not wholly, the Austric element in the languages of the Mon Khmer tribe of Burma and the Mūṇḍā languages of India which has preserved the record of an ethnic connection of which very little other evidence is available.

V.—Aboriginal village-organization in India.

By Ramesh Chandra Roy, B.Sc.

Village organization marks a comparatively late stage in the development of the socio-economic organization of primitive human groups. Human society or social organization was preceded by unorganized human packs held together by that innate habit of flocking and herding known as animal gregariousness. Ages ago, the human pack differentiated from other animal packs, particularly by the power of speech and a pronounced consciousness of kind, and became a shelter group, occupying rock shelters or caverns which it defended. Within the same shelter group, as components of it, lived families. To this day, among some of the Mongoloid tribes of Assam and Burma we meet with long houses or communal houses, each of which shelters a number of families.

The *family* is the unit of human social organization. By multiplication of descendants, families became *kindreds*. Mating was usually between members of different kindreds, and therefore *erogamous*. Mating that was approved and sanctioned by the group constituted *marriage*. The *family* under different environmental conditions, assumed various forms, ——— *pairing*, *polygamous*, *polyandrous*, ——— and tended to become *monogamic*.

Among societies in the primitive stages of culture we find a strong tendency towards mutual support and co-operation in economic matters as well as for purposes of defence. The most natural form assumed by such unions for defence and co-operation is that of *kinship*. In epochs of pastoral husbandry and of the beginnings of agriculture, land is mainly owned by *tribes*, *kindreds* and enlarged *households*, collectively, while individuals enjoy only rights of usage and possession. When the invention of the plough facilitated productive agriculture

and a relatively settled life, joint families or other two-, three- or four generation groups grew into *village communities*. By a *village community* is properly meant a population which lives together and cultivates a definite territory. With the progress and development of agricultural village-communities, the territorial principle to some extent came to supplement and overshadow the principle of blood-relationship.

In fact, organized communal life (except those that are due to the voluntary association of individuals) is based on the co-operation of these two principles, — the principle of consanguinity (or blood relationship) and the *territorial* principle; and it depends on the nature of the material economy of the community whether the one or the other is to predominate. The territorial principle generally comes to be predominant in communities that engage in agriculture. In fact, in the most advanced agricultural communities we find that unions of neighbours have in course of time been substituted for unions of kinsmen.

Even in the primitive village communities of the aboriginal tribes of India, we find that as they grew into organized self-acting units, they ceased to be close corporations based upon kinship or common descent and came to include within their bodies such necessary functionaries as artisans and traders, barbers and washermen, and so forth, drawn generally from other races or tribes. In some cases, as in the primitive village communities of the Mūṇḍās and the Orāons of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, sons-in-law or other relatives by marriage also came in some cases to settle in the villages of their wives' relations and became incorporated in the latter's village-communities. These new-comers live in the village and hold their lands generally on an inferior footing to the descendants of the original settlers. Occasionally strangers also came to be incorporated into these primitive village-communities through the fiction of adoption.

The most suitable starting-point for an examination of village organization in India is afforded by our existing

aboriginal village-communities. The history and internal organization of such communities would appear to indicate that they were originally based on the clan principle, being essentially rural unions of kinsmen on the basis of enlarged households.

We must leave out of account the more or less migratory forest tribes, who, although during parts of the year living on rude methods of tillage, yet owing to insufficiency of arable land and frequent flittings from spirit-haunted or unlucky sites, cannot be counted among land-owning and settled agricultural communities.

A typical surviving example of Indian primitive village organization is still to be found in a Mūṇḍā village of Chōṭā-Nāgpur. As many as 156 Mūṇḍā villages in the Rānchi District, as we learn from the Settlement Report (1910) of that District, still retain intact their original communal *Khūṇṭkāṭṭi* form of village organisation. In these "Intact *Khūṇṭkāṭṭi*-village," as they are called, the original Mūṇḍā village community (or the *Khūṇṭkāṭṭidārs* as a body) are the joint owners of the village, subject to the payment of a quit rent to the superior landlord or to the State. They all belong to the same clan and trace their descent to one common ancestor who founded the village by clearing the primeval jungle. My father, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, who has investigated into the history of the origin and growth of these villages, tells me that within his own knowledge some thirty years ago, there used to be a periodical redistribution of the arable lands in some at least of such villages amongst the members of the *Khūṇṭkāṭṭi* brotherhood, according to the needs of each family unit. The first step in the change from absolutely communal property to qualified individual property was taken when individual *Khūṇṭkāṭṭidārs* came to hold specific portions of these cultivable lands and left them on their death to their heirs. But even then, when necessity arose, the village community, through their headmen,

could take away a portion of the lands from one member who had too much and hand it over to another who had too little for his increasing requirements. Unoccupied and waste lands and jungles are still the common or communal property of the entire *Khūṇṭkāṭṭi* brotherhood.

The internal affairs of the village are ordinarily managed by the village headmen, known as the *Mūṇḍā* and the *Pāhān* or Priest. The former is in charge of the management of the secular affairs of the village and the latter of the sacerdotal or religious affairs. The *Mūṇḍā* also collects from each *Khūṇṭkāṭṭi* family the *chāṇḍa* (literally, subscription, but really quota of quit-rent) payable by it to make up the quit-rent payable by the village community, as a whole, to the superior landlord of the circle (*paṭṭi*).

Even to this day, in a few villages, the same patriarch combines in himself the functions of both the *Mūṇḍā* and the *Pāhān*—a circumstance which shows that the bifurcation of the secular and sacerdotal functions is a later development of *Mūṇḍā* village polity. Neither the *Mūṇḍā* nor the *Pāhān* of a *Khūṇṭkāṭṭi* village has any superior rights of property. They manage the ordinary affairs of the village such as apportioning the revenue burdens and contributions for public religious and socio-religious or magico-religious ceremonies, allocation of services according to tribal hierarchy and so forth. Matters of importance such as punishment of offenders against tribal custom or settlement of serious disputes, partition of family lands, and so forth are referred to the village *Panchāyat* which, though in practice is now a council of village elders, originally consisted of all adult males of the village brotherhood acting under the guidance of the village headmen.

Each village has one or more sacred groves called *Sarṇās* where periodical sacrifices are offered to the village deities by the *Pāhān* or village-priest in presence of the assembled villagers for the welfare and security of the village against

Places of public worship.

natural and supernatural ills. These groves were originally remnants of the primeval forests which were left standing by the original settlers to serve as the abode of the gods and spirits.

At or near the centre of the village is the *ākhrā* or meeting-ground where tribal dances are performed by the village youth of both sexes, and *pañchāyats* or tribal councils are held by the village elders.

Another important feature of a *Mūṇḍā* village is the *giti-ōrā* or sleeping-house of the bachelors, where young *Mūṇḍā* bachelors of the village sleep at night and where guests of the village may also be accommodated. This institution is gradually falling into decay in the *Mūṇḍā* country, although in some parts of the Orāon country among their neighbours it is still a living institution with its own headmen and regulations and ritual. The spinisters of a *Mūṇḍā* village have no longer a separate dormitory but generally sleep at night in the house of different lone widows of the village.

Bachelors' Dormitory and club-house and village guest-house.

Maidens' Dormitory.

Last, but not least, is the village *saṣān* or burial-ground which with its dolmens (or large flat stone slabs each supported on small stones at the four corners) and menhirs or memorial stone-slabs planted upright (*bid-dirikō* or standing stones, as the *Mūṇḍās* call them). These burial stone-slabs, in the words of the *Mūṇḍās*, constitute their 'title-deeds' or the best evidence of membership of the original proprietary village brotherhood. Each *saṣān* or burial-ground is exclusively used by one single clan of *Khūṇ!kāṭidārs* or *Bhūṇ!nārs*, as the case may be, and members of one clan are in no case permitted to bury their dead in the *saṣān* of a different clan. Even the bones of the deceased members of a family who have been excommunicated or who have disowned their own clan may not

Clan Cemetery.

be buried in the *sasān* of their clan. Christian converts are however, permitted to put up only memorial stones for their dead in their clan *śasān*, so long as they own up their clan, and adhere to the tribal rules of exogamous marriage within the tribe; but the dead bodies of these converts are buried in a Christian cemetery. Although in some *Khūṇṇkāṭṭi* villages, one or more families of outsiders related to its *Khūṇṇkāṭṭidārs* by marriage may have settled down, they have no right to bury their dead in the original village *sasān*, but must either take the remains of their dead for burial to their own original *Khūṇṇkāṭṭi* village or may establish a separate *sasān* of their own in their adopted village.

**Different classes
of Tenants and
their respective
Rights.**

These outsiders possess a lower social and economic status in the village than that of the *Khūṇṇkāṭṭidārs*. The descendants of the earliest non-*Khūṇṇkāṭṭidār* Mūṇḍā families of a *Khūṇṇkāṭṭi* village are called *Parjās* or *rāiyats* and their social rank and respectability is much lower than that of the *Khūṇṇkāṭṭidārs*. In affairs of general interest to the village, in which all the *Khūṇṇkāṭṭidārs* must be consulted, the *Parjās* have no voice. In some *Khūṇṇkāṭṭi* villages, here and there, may be seen a blacksmith family of *Barāis* or *Lohārs* (originally perhaps of Mūṇḍā extraction) who make and mend ploughshares and other tools and weapons for the Mūṇḍās of the village and of a number of neighbouring villages, and a family of *Penṛāis* or weavers who weave clothes for the Mūṇḍās of the village and of neighbouring villages. These artisan families generally hold no lands and have no recognised place in the village polity.

Except the arable land which is now divided among the *Khūṇṇkāṭṭidārs* in plots forming their individual tenancies, all waste lands and jungles form the common property of the village community, and every *Khūṇṇkāṭṭidār* has the right to reclaim any waste land within the limits of the village and to cut down and appropriate trees from the village jungle for his own use.

A dozen or more of adjoining villages all inhabited by Mūṇḍas of the same *kili* or clan constitute the wider social organization known as a *Pārḥā*. This *Pārḥā* federation has its administrative council known as the *Pārḥā Panch* or Council of *Pārḥā* elders. This Council not only adjudicates upon all matters of social interest too important for adjudication by the village *Panchāyat*, but it also hears and decides all disputes in which the decision of the village *Panchāyat* is not accepted by one or other of the parties. The social head of the *Pārḥā* is known as the *Karṭāhā* who must eat the first morsel in every *Pārḥā* feast and is in charge of all socio-religious functions in the *Pārḥā*, whereas its administrative functions are performed by another *Pārḥā*-patriarch who is called the '*Rājā*' or 'king' of the *Pārḥā*.

The social federation of the *Pārḥā* with its headmen known as the *Pārḥā-Rājā* and *Karṭāhā* is to be distinguished from the fiscal organization of the *paṭṭi* and its head the *Mānki*. The *Paṭṭi* consists of a number of *Khūṇṭkāṭṭi* villages forming a revenue division created by the superior landlord for purposes of collection of his revenue and the *Mānki* is the fiscal headman of the *paṭṭi* who stands as the intermediary between the superior landlord and the villages of the *paṭṭi* and collects, from the *Mūṇḍā* headman of each village of the *paṭṭi*, the quit-rent payable on account of the village.

The constitution of the *Khūṇṭkāṭṭi* villages of the Austric-Oraon Village speaking pre-Dravidian Mūṇḍas would appear to represent the typical form of early aboriginal village organization traceable in India.

The village organization of the neighbouring pre-Dravidian tribe of Dravidian-speaking Oraons, though of the same general type as that of the Mūṇḍas, marks a further step in advance. An Oraon village community is composed not solely of descendants of the original founders of the village with a few families of subsidiary castes to serve as village artisans, etc., but has a regular hierarchy of groups of families of different status,

The *Bhūinhārs*, as the descendants of the Orāon founders of a village are called, form a comparatively small section of the village community, although they possess the highest status in the village community and furnish its headmen (the secular headman called the *Māhto*, and the sacerdotal headman called the *Pāhān*) and the village *Panch*.

Next in tribal rank, come the *Jekh-raiyats* or old Orāon settlers and cultivators of the village, who though not descended from the original founder or founders of the village were its earliest non-Bhūinhār settlers. In affairs of general interest to the village, in which the Bhūinhārs, as a body, must be consulted by the village *Panch*, the *Jekh-raiyats* should be and generally are consulted. Next to the *Jekh-raiyats* in the village hierarchy, stand the *gairōs* or *gairō-raiyats* who are comparatively more recent Orāon settlers in the village, but yet form component parts of the village community.

Last of all come the non-Orāon village artisans and village servants who, though forming useful adjuncts to an Orāon village-community, are not essential parts of the village polity. Such are the village blacksmith or *Lohār* who makes and sharpens their plough-shares and axes and arrows and other necessary tools and weapons, the *Tūri* or *Māhli* who makes baskets of different shapes and sizes for the Orāon's domestic work and agricultural operations, the semi-Hinduised *Pānr* or the Musalman *Jōlāhā* who weaves the Orāon's clothes, the *Gorāit* who serves as the village messenger and generally as the village drudge; and the *Ghāsi* who plays upon drums and pipes at marriages and certain other domestic ceremonies of the Orāons; the *Āhir*, who tends the cattle of the villagers; and the *Kūmhār* or potter who makes their earthen-ware. Every Orāon village does not possess families of all of these different classes of village artisans and village menials; but one or more families of one or more of these subsidiary tribes or castes are to be found in most Orāon villages. Such villages as do not possess any families of one or more of these artisan and menial castes secure the services of members of those castes living in

villages within easy reach. The services of a blacksmith, at any rate, are indispensable to every Orāon. And almost every village has its own Gorāit or other village messenger. The entire body of village youth forms the village militia who have to act under the orders of the village headmen.

The Bhūinhārs hold their lands at privileged rates of rent which can never be enhanced, but there is no trace of joint ownership except in the case of certain lands which are set apart for the remuneration of the village priest (*Patānāi* and *Dālikātāri* lands) and village *Māhāto* (*Māhatoi* lands) and also certain lands (*Bhūtāketā* lands) the produce of which goes to meet the expenses of periodical worship and propitiation of the village deities and spirits. Except these communal lands, the other arable lands of the village are held in separate tenancy by individual cultivators, and the jungles and waste lands of the village are now generally regarded as the property of the landlord, although in most villages the tenants have customary rights of wood-cutting for necessary purposes, free of any payment, and in some villages blocks of jungle lands are reserved for the tenants as a body, or as separate properties of particular Bhūinhār tenants.

All the Bhūinhārs of an Orāon village belong to the same exogamous clan, the *Jeṭh-raiyats* and *Gaiḍos* are generally composed of Orāons of several different clans. They all join in periodical sacrifices to the same village deities at the village *Sarnās* or sacred groves and other public places of worship, although each clan has its own separate clan-spirits and each family its own family-spirits or ancestor-spirits to whom sacrifices are separately offered.

The village *Panch* or Council of village elders decide all disputes between the villagers and try and punish offences against the social and moral code of the tribe. Partition of family lands according to tribal custom is one of the most important functions of the village *Panch*. Matters and disputes relating to marriage and sexual tabus and offences and

cases of suspected witchcraft are still almost invariably referred to the village *Panch*.

The *Māhtō* or secular headman manages the secular affairs of the village and is the intermediary between the villagers and the landlord and Governmental authorities and the *Pāhān* (Oraon, *Nāigās*) or village-priest seeks to maintain harmonious relations between the village and the spirit-world.

The bachelors of the village who are organized under their own headmen in different age-grades, with their own social regulations and magico-religious rites, form a sort of volunteer corps whose services are requisitioned by the village elders in various ways for the social and economic benefit of the villagers.

The villages are grouped into federations of seven, twelve, twenty-one or twenty-two villages, wider than the known as *Pārḥās*. Over each *Pārḥā* village. group there is a 'headman' styled the *Pārḥā-Rājā* who is also the headman of one of the villages of the group, and the headmen of the other villages act as different titular dignitaries (such as Diwān, Kōṭwār, etc.) of the *Pārḥā*. Unlike the *Pārḥā* organization of Mūṇḍā villages, which is a federation of villages of Mūṇḍās (*Khūntḥāṭṭidārs*) of the same clan, the Bḥīnhārs of the different villages of an Oraon *Pārḥā* do not generally belong to one and the same clan. Every village of a *Pārḥā* has its own distinctive flag and other badges which may not be used by any other village unless ceremonially presented by the village whose exclusive privilege it is to use them. Each village of the *Pārḥā* has to co-operate in the pursuit of such common objects of the federation as the protection of the allied villages from human and non-human foes.

The different villages of the *Pārḥā* hunt together, fight together, and, on stated occasions, meet together in dancing trysts (*jātrās*), social feasts, and deliberation in judicial committees. Cases of infringement of certain important social and religious tabus, disputes regarding precedence at the *jātrās* or dancing trysts, or regarding right to game, disputes regarding

boundaries between two villages and such other matters as the village Panchāyats cannot decide or in which their decisions are not accepted are laid before the *Pāṛhā Panch* for decision.

Whatever might have been the original structure and form of Mūṇḍā and Orāon families and village-communities, they are now constituted on a purely patriarchal basis.

The village organization and tribal organization of most other agricultural aboriginal tribes of India have, in the main, the same characteristic features,—namely, (1) the communal employment of a staff of village officers (such as the Mūṇḍās and Pāhāns of the Orāons, the Mūṇḍās and the Hōs, the Mājhis and Diuris of the Santāls, the Samōntōs or Naiokōs and the Jānis of the Khonds, and so on) who are in many places given plots of rent-free land for their services, and artisans and menials who are remunerated either by rent-free service lands or by measures of grain annually contributed by each family in the village; (2) the reservation of one or more plots of land for the propitiation and worship of local spirits and deities; (3) the communal control of the unoccupied waste or forest (now lost in many places) and an agrarian economy under the scattered field system; (4) territorial division and subdivision of the tribes and clans; (5) tribal jurisdictions as well as central and local governance by Panchāyats presided over by village head-men and acknowledging the authority of a divisional tribal tribunal such as the *Pāṛhā* Panchayat of the Mūṇḍās and the Orāons, the Sendia of the Maria Gonds of the Central Provinces, and the Nādu Panchayat of certain South Indian tribes and castes.

Some of the Mongoloid tribes of Assam, such as some of the Nāgā tribes — like the Āo Nāgās, Sema Nāgās and Tengima Nāgās — have unusually large villages, some containing as many as 800 houses, perched upon a hill, carefully stockaded and guarded against attack. The large size of the villages is probably due to their adoption of the system of terrace cultivation by irrigation round the slopes of the hills. The villages, though nominally governed each by a headman, are in practice independent democratic units. The Sema Nāgā village, on the

contrary, has a hereditary chief vested with considerable authority and privileges. The unit of the Nāgā tribes is not however the village, but an exogamous subdivision of the population concentrated in a village and called a *Khel* or *Tepfu* which is said to be descended of a single ancestor. Whereas Nāgā families are patrilineal, the Gāros and Khāsis are matrilineal and reckon kinship, descent, succession and inheritance in the female line. But, all the same, the authority of the male is the basis of the village organization: The *Nokma* or headman of a Gāro village derives his authority through his wife, the *Siem* or chief of a Khāsi State derives his title through his mother.

When we turn from the village organization of the aboriginal tribes of Northern India to that of the Hindu or Hinduized Dravidians of Southern India, we find traces of the same characteristic features of village organization and territorial organization. Thus, in Coorg, the village or *Ur* consists of several *manes* or farm-houses. The management of the village rests with the headman called *Takka* who is assisted by the village elders. They decide cases of violation of caste rules or social etiquette, cases of sexual immorality and so forth. Three to five *Takkas* constitute a *Nād* over which there is a headman called *Mukyastama*, and a *Nāda Panchāyat* which decides disputes which the *Takka* cannot settle. The next higher organisation is the *Simatoka* of which there are four in Coorg proper. This system of village and territorial government by *takkas*, *nadas* and *simatokas* in Coorg, and by *tharas* or *cheries*, *desons* and *nads* in the Malabar, still plays an important part in rural economy, domestic morality, religious observance, village custom, and petty disputes. The Dravidians would appear to have been originally a matrilineal race, and even to this day some sections of them, particularly the Nayars are essentially a matrilineal people. And this has had its influence on their village system.

(iv) *Aryan Hindu Village Communities.*

The Aryans with their higher culture naturally exerted a potent influence on the older village organization of the Mūṇḍā

and Dravidian peoples upon which they built a more elaborate superstructure. And thus the present organization of Indian villages is the product of the interaction of Aryan and pre-Aryan ideals. Private ownership of land would appear to have been first introduced into India by the Aryan settlers, whereas communal ownership of land was the original form of land-holding with the aboriginal inhabitants of India.

Sir Baden Powell, after detailed investigations into the origin and history of Indian (Aryan-Hindu) village communities, came to the conclusion that Indian (Aryan) villages might be grouped into two broad classes, which he called respectively the *Joint* or *United* village (which is predominant in the Punjab and its vicinity) and the *non-United* village (found chiefly in Central and Southern India).

The essential feature of the *joint village* is that all the land inside its limits, whether waste or cultivated, belongs to the entire body of village proprietors who are jointly responsible for the State revenue in one lump sum, and the management of village affairs is vested in a *panchayat* or committee representing the heads or elders of each section, or if there happen to be no sections, the *Panch* may be a single individual. The village is assessed by the State to revenue in one lump sum which is distributed and recorded at settlement according to the village constitution, and restrictions are imposed against the sale of land to outsiders. This would, at first sight, appear to correspond more or less to the Mūṇḍā (*khūṇ/kāṭ/v*) village-organization described above. The different classes of persons who form component parts of the constitution of a joint village are:— (1) The co-sharers in the proprietary body, all or some of whom form the *Panch* including the "headmen". (2) Tenants under (1) some of whom are permanent and hereditary tenants and others tenants-at-will; (3) the village officials (accountant, watchman, etc); (4) the village artisans; (5) the resident tradesmen; and (6) village menials and farm labourers.

In the *non-united* village, no one has any claim to anything except his own holding, although the village generally makes

use of the waste for grazing or wood-cutting purposes without prejudice to the State's right to grant it away to any one it pleases ; and the affairs of the village are managed by single headman (called *maṇḍal* in Bengal, '*muqaddam*' in Northern India, '*paṭel*' in Central India, and so forth) partly appointed by the State, though the office becomes hereditary by custom, and this headman realises from each holding its share of the State revenue, for which the village has no joint responsibility.

These two different types of Indian villages are attributed by Sir Baden Powell to the colonisation of India by two different kinds of Aryan tribes.

The *non-united* villages, according to Sir Baden Powell, were established by the first Aryan immigrants into India. The form of society which they introduced was that described in the Institutes of Manu (*Manu-Saṁhita*).

It consisted of the Rājā and under him the villages each with its own headman, and some intermediate officials, supervisors of a hundred or a thousand villages. The Rājā had a general right to a definite share in the grain, with a power of collecting taxes and with a right to the waste ; and individual holders of land, each entitled only to the land that he reclaimed from the jungle and brought under the plough, as also to the free use of wood and grass, giving a customary share of the crop to the village artisans and the priest, and dividing the rest between himself and the Rājā.

Villages of this *non-united* type were, according to Baden Powell, established by settlements of later and more martial Hindu tribes (such as the Rajputs and Jats) and exist in Bengal, in the old Oudh kingdoms, and in certain districts of Central, Southern and Western India.

In this *non-united* or severalty form of village, there is nothing but an aggregate of residents, each occupying his own land, and owing no liability for his neighbour's revenue-payment. In such a village it often happens that the cultivators are of different castes and races. The bond of union centres in the recognition of a headman of the village (generally known as

'*paṭel*') who is partly the representative of the State and partly of the village. His office is practically hereditary. The headman and his family were usually, if not always, the owners of the village-site, which, in troublous times, was often walled or banked round and served as a fort. A right to a house-site in this enclosed space is still the prerogative of the *paṭel*'s family; outside and clustering around it, are the sites of the other village residents, the cattle stalls, and so forth. A staff of village officials (accountant, watchman, etc.) and village artisans and menials, remunerated by customary dues or grants of lands ("watan") is common both to the united and the non-united types of villages. The village system of Bengal has long fallen into decay; but it is probable that the villages were of this type.

Dr. E. W. Hopkins, however, in his book "India — Old and New" has shown that the indications and express statements of ancient Sankrit literature as well as the earliest inscriptions go to show that in ancient Hindu India "while a common ownership was exercised by the village, there was within the village private ownership of land, which was inherited as the impartible property of the sons (and widow). But alongside of this was also the severalty arrangement, which in many cases overthrew this joint ownership." Thus "the types were severalty and joint villages, and not communal types. The joint family with its original common ownership of land is sufficient to account for all such traces of communistic land ownership of land as we have any record of, and the joint ownership of the village had only the form of the modern 'joint village.' As to-day, so of old, villages were of the joint and severalty class, but they were not communal in the strict sense."

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Two Sulki Plates.

(By Narayana Tripathi, B.A.)

Two copper-plate inscriptions issued by the kings of the Śulki *alias* Śoulkī family of Orissa were discovered by the Oriya Pandit (Pandit Nagendra Nath Mahapatra) attached to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society during his tour in the Dhenkanal State, and the learned Editor of the Journal of that Society has kindly sent the estampages of those plates to me for decipherment. On reference to the old issues of that Journal it is found that they have already been published by Mahā-mahopādhyāya Pandit Hara Prasad Śāstrī, M.A., C.I.E., in Volume II, Part IV of the Journal, marked as "C—Grant of Jaya Stambha Deva" and "D—The Grant of Jayastambha" under the general heading "Copper-Plate Records of Land Grants". I have nothing to add to what has already been written by that great scholar about these two inscriptions, except suggesting the following identification of some important geographical names and titles.

Kodālo :—The capital of the Śulki family is called "Kodālo" or 'Kodāloka'. It was a "pātaka" (town) in the "Mandala" (division) of that name. A part of the town of Kodālo was also being known as "Sadā Śivapura". There were some discussions in "The Utkala Sahitya" an Oriya monthly magazine about the location of this town, and the agreed conclusion was that the ancient town of Kodālo stood at a place comprising the existing village Kuaḷu in the Parajanga visaya of the Dhenkanal State. The place still contains many historical antiquities including many old temples, big and small, mostly of Śiva.

Stambha and Stambheśvarī :—The family title of Śulki *alias* Śoulki kings is mentioned as Stambha, invariably affixed to their proper names. There are still a few Kṣatriya families living in the feudatory states of Orissa, particularly from Athagarh to Angul whose family title is Thamva. The word Thamva is an *apabhraṃsa* of the Sanskrit word 'Stambha'. The tradition current among the 'Thamvas' is that their original home was in the Keonjhar feudatory state. The inscriptions reveal the Stambhas not only as the overlords over Kodaḷo, but also as high state officials under the neighbouring kings particularly under the well known Bhañja kings of Khinjali—c. f. the inscription of Netabhanja published in J. B. O. R. S., Volume VI, Part II, pages 274-279, in which the minister of Peace and War was one Jaya Stambha.

The family goddess of the Śoulkis *alias* Stambhas is called Stambheśvarī. Angul prior to its annexation to the British territories had two subdivisions, viz., Khamvā and Kalingā; the presiding goddess over Khamvā was Khamveśvarī *alias* Stambheśvarī and that over Kalingā was Kalingeśvarī. The village goddesses in many villages in the feudatory states of Boud, Sonepur, Angul, Dhenkanal, etc. are still known by the name Khamvesvarī. The speciality in the worship of this goddess is that her priesthood is not confined to any particular sect or caste, but is open to both the Arians and non-Arians. At some places her attending priest (pujaka) is an aboriginal Kanda and at others he is but a Śūdra. This sort of catholicism for the worship of the goddess conceived to be the First Mother of the Universe is an important relic in the History of Religion of old India, and how far the custom owes its origin or development to the Buddhistic influence is still a problem.

The Śarajā Mahābhārata makes mention of a powerful kingdom of Raṇa Stambha with its impregnable fort surrounded by deep and impassable ditches. The presiding goddess of the kingdom is described in glowing terms to be Hingulā through whose boons and blessings, both the kingdom and the ruling house were very prosperous and powerful and were immune from

the attacks of the outside enemies. This Hingulā of Śārālā Mahābhārat can be safely identified with Stambheśvari of the inscriptions.

Gondrama.—I have already discussed at length in my paper "The Jayapura Copper-plate grant of Dhruvananda Deva" regarding the possible significance of this word "Gondrama" and have proved therein that it does not stand for the tribes known as 'Gandas' as maintained by the learned editor, but is a geographical name applied to a portion of the hilly tracts extending from Bonai Bamra to Jeypur in the Vizagapattam district in the Madras Presidency.

I venture to differ from the learned editor Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Śāstri in the reading of the text at some places and these are given below.

Mahāmahopādhyāya's reading.

My reading.

C.—Grant of Jayastambha Deva.

Line 2	... शौलकोकुले	... शौलकोकुले ।
Line 6	... समस्तदिग्भट	... समस्तदिक्तट ।
Line 6	... दिग्वारनेन्द्र	... दिग्वारणेन्द्र ।
Line 7	... भवत्सतः	... भवत्सुतः ।
Line 7	... दुर्ध्वार वैरि	... दुर्ध्वार वैरि ।
Line 8	... ज्ञानखड्ग	... ज्ञानखड्गः ।
Line 13	... मत्सख	... मेत्सख ।
Line 14	... पितरम्	... पितरो ।
Line 16	... वावनस्य	... ह्वेणस्य ।
Line 16	... उक्त ...	.. उक्तश्च ।
Line 18	... पचत ...	... पचते ।

Mahāmahopādhyāya's reading.

My reading.

D.—The Grant of Jayastambha.

Line 1	... कोदाला	... कोदालो ।
Line 2	... आविदित	... अविदित ।

	... प्रणिपात	... प्रतार्पित * ।
Line 4	... राजावली	... च्छाव (म) ली (णि)
Lines 6—7	... कोदालामण्डले	... कोदालोमण्डले ।
Line 7	... राजकदण्डक	... निय(यु)क्तकदण्ड ।
Line 12	... लोलपुर	... लोणपुर ।
Line 17	... समदायेन	... समुदायेन ।
Line 32	... वध करणीयःमिती	वधकरणि(णी)यमिति

* The impression is not clear.

II.—The Jayapura Copper-plate grant of Dhruvananda Deva.

(By Narayana Tripathi, B.A.)

This copper-plate grant of Rāja Dhruvānanda Deva of Jayapura, originally discovered in the village Palmul in the district of Angul and referred to in the Angul District Gazetteer (page 138), has at last been published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in its issue of March-June 1929 with a prefacing note from Dr. A. Banerji Śāstri, M. A., PH. D. (Oxon) who had the privilege of editing it for that journal. But unfortunately the transcript of the text, its translation as well as the inferences and conclusions given in the introductory note did not satisfy the scholars of Orissa and one of them, Pandit Satya Narayan Rajaguru has already published a partial criticism of it in the local monthly magazine, the Utkal Sāhitya. As this is an important plate for reconstructing the history of Mediæval Orissa, I propose at the instance of my friends, to place before the readers of this journal, a revised reading of it, but while doing this, I must say from the beginning that I had to read the text from the facsimile print accompanying Dr. Banerji Sastri's note, portions of which are indistinct and at places illegible. In those portions placed within [] brackets in my reading I had no other alternative than to accept the learned Doctor's reading. A free translation of the text as rendered by Pandit Shiva Nandan Thakur, B.A., Vyakaran Tirth, Shastri, Head Pandit, Ranchi Zila School, is also given below.

Description.—Dr. Banerji Sastri says that the "name Śrī Devānanda devasya" has been written in the seal. The second letter, i.e., the supposed "De" has clearly no *e kara* sign in the facsimile. The sixth letter is certainly "De"; but the second

and 6th letters differ although very slightly from each other in shape. In my opinion the name originally was "Śrī Dhruvānanda Devasya", the name of the grantor, and that the impressions of *r* mātrā and *ukāra* below the existing 2nd letter *Dhra* (?) could not properly come out when the royal seal was pressed upon the molten metal.

Script.—In the opinion of the learned Doctor "The writing bears a close similarity to the inscriptions of the Ganga Dynasty of Orissa, from the 11th to the 15th Century A. C." This is rather a vague statement. An inscription from Koṇārka, taken to be of the 3rd quarter of the 13th century A. C. (Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Volume III, part II, pages 282-283), some inscriptions of Śūrya vaiṣṇī emperors, viz., Kapīlendra Deva (1435-65 A.C.) and Puruṣottama Deva (1465-95 A.C.) of Orissa have already been published. Even the recently discovered unpublished inscriptions in the Linga Rāja Temple at Bhuvaneshwar contain some records of the 12th century A. C. and downwards. The scripts to be found in those inscriptions differ substantially from the scripts of the present record. On the other hand, the latter bear close similarity to the scripts of the inscriptions of the "Śulki" *alias* Stambha Vamśī kings published in J. B. and O. R. S., volume II, part IV and to those of other Orissan records issued before the 10th century A. C.

The date.—According to Dr. Banerji Sastri "*Samvat Lu Ch 73* would be equivalent to $73 + 1$ (*Cha* = Chandra—moon—one) + 3 (*Lu*—third letter of "Y" Varga-3) "*Añkasya Vāmā gatiḥ*". Thus 1373 of Samvat 78 A. C. (most of the Orissa inscriptions are dated in the Śakaera). This would give us 1451 A. C. Bhādra-pada Śukla di 5—of Śaka 1373 would be 4th August, 1450." This appears to be a novel method of determining the date. Is "Lu" (and not "La") the 3rd letter of the so-called "Y" Varga? (Of course it would be interesting to know the other letters of this new *varga*). Admitting that "Cha" stands for "1" and "Lu"

for "3", one still fails to understand how 73-1-3 can become 1373 under the rule "Afikasya Vāmā Gatih."

Of course Śakābda era has been extensively used in the inscriptions of Gangā vāmsī and Sūryavāmsī emperors of Orissa. But it has not yet been definitely settled what era or eras were used in the inscriptions of the earlier kings. In Angul where the present record was originally discovered Vikrama Samvat and not Śakābda was mostly in use before its annexation to the British India.

An examination of the facsimile print however discloses that after the word Samvat only three letters, viz., two symbols and then a compound digit occur. The first symbol (𑀓) looks like "Lu". The learned editor finds a "cha" after "Lu" but this "cha" is not traceable in the facsimile. In its place, i.e., after "Lu" occurs another sign (𑀔). According to the Palæography of India by Gouri Shankar Ojha, the symbol "La" (𑀔) represents 100, but as the present symbol has curves it may be taken to stand for 200. Again the sign (𑀕) represents 80 but as the present second symbol (𑀔) has a horizontal dash over it, it may be taken to stand for 81. Thus Samvat (𑀓𑀔) may be taken as standing for 281. The upper portion of the third symbol is a clear digit 2. Just below it is another sign which may be taken as the digit 8. There is also another very faint sign of digit one before the digit 8.

I am inclined to believe that the Samvat or era has been expressed in this record in symbols in the first two signs and then in the numerical figure in the third compound digit, and that the year is 281. If the third symbol be not a compound digit, but a simple one, then it may be read as 3 and the whole Samvat in that case becomes $200 + 80 + 3 = 283$. But the question is what era it might be. In some plates of the Kara dynasty the era has been expressed in symbols the first symbol being either "LU" as in the plate of Tribhuvana Mahādevi published in J. B. O. R. S., Volume II, part IV, or, "La" as in the plate of Śubhā Kara Deva on pages 69-83, *Ibid*, Volume XVI. The editor of the latter plate thinks that the Samvat

mentioned in them represents the Harṣa Era ; but the difficulty in accepting this theory is—

- (1) that there is no positive proof that Śīlāditya Harṣavarddhana conquered Utkala either wholly or partially, unless the suggestions of Sir Alexander Cunningham (a) to identify Śaśāṅka Narendra of Gouda with Lalatendu Keśarī of Mādala-pāñji and (b) to identify Karṇa Suvarṇa with the present Kitching in the Mayurbhanja state, be found to be correct (Cunningham's location of Karṇa Suvarṇa is not far off from Kitching).
- (2) Even then, it is still to be proved that Harṣavardhana made his conquest and influence so much felt in Utkala that the various ruling houses holding supremacy over different parts of Utkala, specially those reigning in the out-skirt hilly tracts like Gondrama or Jayapura had to adopt his era in their court records in preference to their own era or eras then current.

I would suggest that the era 281 mentioned in the present record represents the Yayāti Era which Yayāti Keśarī, the founder of the Keśarī line in Utkala according to the Mādala Pāñji, made current in 592-93 A.C. The new year of this era is counted from the 12th day (dvādaśī) of the bright fortnight (Śukla Pakṣa) of the month of Bhādrapada,—this particular day is locally known as “Suniyā ”—and is observed with great pomp and celebration both in the Temple of Jagannath and in the whole of Orissa. This era is still in use in almost all the records of Orissa other than the Government records. Apparently this era commemorates (1) reinstallation of Jagannath in the then newly constructed temple at Puri by Yayāti, (2) completion of the tenth Asva-medha Jañga performed by him on the banks of the Vaitaraṇī and (3) the final disappearance of the last vestige of Yavana rule in Orissa established by Rakta-vāhu. A janma-tithi ceremony (birth day anniversary) of Yayāti called Indradymna the second, fell on the first “Suniyā”.

Language.—About the language of the record the learned Doctor opines that it is “incorrect Sanskrit, partly in prose, partly in metres, often faulty”. Of course there are a few spelling mistakes and the signs of anuswāra and repha mātrā are not now visible at some places. There also appears to have been omissions of two letters in line 5 and of one letter in line 12. But these defects are more or less common to almost all the records of Mediæval India and are often overlooked by the scholars. The metre in the verse portion of the present record appears to be defective only in three places, but it is probable that these defects will finally disappear with a better and improved reading. On the other hand the record presents such a beautiful piece of composition, that for its elegant style and choice of words, their uniform and sonorous flow, for its original and apt similies and above all for its grand expression of thought—it may fairly claim for its author a high rank among the Mediæval Sanskrit poets. In fact the deciphering of the text as has been done by the learned editor reveals a far greater number of mistakes than the record itself contains.

Identification.—The learned Doctor says that “The identification of both Jayapura and Gondrama is indefinite. Jajpur, a subdivisional town in Cuttack was an important capital in Mediæval Orissa. Gondrama might be equated with the district of Ganjam in the Madras Presidency * * *. The possession of Ganjam was the endeavour of every powerful Orissan chief * * *”. One fails to understand why Jajpur has been introduced here. Is it intended to equate “Jayapura” with Jajpur?

Jayapur.—Jayapur, the existing capital town of the Jeypur State in the Vizagapatam district of the Madras Presidency can reasonably be identified with the “Jayapura” of the inscription. Not far off from this town of Jayapur is a place (now a big village) called Nandapur. It is believed that the Nandodbhavavamsī Kings (of the present inscription) had their original residence at Nandapur and that Jayapur was their subsequent capital when the family became an influential ruling house.

Even up to the beginning of the 19th century A. C. the state was going by the name "Nandapura", vide the Oriya inscription published on pages 437-440 of J. B. O. R. S., Volume II, part IV read with page 286 *Ibid.*, Volume III, part II. Babu Sudhakar Patnaik, B.A., a member of this Research Society is of opinion that "Tārastambha Khanda" mentioned in line 26 of the present inscription can be identified with Tarāsa pargana and Jāmvuvāda mentioned in line 30 with the existing village "Jamundā" both in the Angul district. He being a local man, the suggested identification deserves consideration, and in that case it must be held that the kingdom of Jayapura was once so extensive as to include Angul or a part of it during the time of Dhruvānanda Deva.

Gondrama.—The learned editor's suggested identification of "Gondrama" with Ganjam appears also to be somewhat beside the mark. I have consulted a few charters of other dynasties such as "Gupta" *alias* "Somavāmsī kings of Cuttack", the "Karas", "Bhanjas", "Śailodbhavas", "Varāhas", "Varmans" and the "Gangās" but the word "Gondrama" does not occur in them. On the other hand, it finds specific mention in some plates of the "Śulkis" *alias* "Stambhas", and the "Tungas", of the king Jaya Simha, and in the present charter of a "Nandodbhavavāmsī" king. Of the Śulkis, only two kings, viz., Kula Stambha Deva and Jayastambha Deva called* themselves "Sakala Gondramādhinātha", i.e., the supreme lord over the whole of Gondrama. A king Jaya Sinha by name, of Jamagartta Mandala (with his capital on the bank of the Mandākinī) of an unspecified dynasty called † himself "Sakala-Gondramādhipati", i.e., the lord over the whole Gondrama. Another king, viz., Vinita Tunga Deva of Jamagartta Mandala bore the title of "Navaghaṭaṣṭadaśa ‡ Gondramādhipati", i.e., lord over the nine troops of elephants and

* J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, part IV, pp. 400-409.

† " *Ibid.* pp. 417-419.

‡ Ghaṭa means (1) an endeavour, (2) a number, troops, assemblage, (3) a troop of elephants assembled for martial purposes, (4) an assembly. MM. H. P. Sastri who edited the plate appears to have ignored the word "Navaghaṭa" altogether. J. B. O. R. S., Vol. VI, part II, pp. 236-240.

18 Gondramas. Again the present charter says that Jayānanda, the first king of the genealogy given in it, had over-powered the whole of Gondrama in his prowess "svavikramākrānta samasta Gondrama". Neither he nor any of his successors called themselves "lord over Gondrama". From these it appears that Gondrama is a geographical name and does not stand for the tribes known as "Gondas" as maintained by Mahamahopādhyaya Hara Prashad Śāstri. It was divided into 18 parts and to be the paramount power over the whole Gondrama was the ambition of many a line of kings mentioned above, but no line could be fortunate to bear it permanently without interruption. As the charter of Jaya Simha is taken by M. M. H. Śāstri on palæographical considerations, to be at least a century older than the Śulūkī charters, it may be held that the line to which Jaya Simha belonged was the earlier overlord over the Gondrama. It then passed on to some of the Śulūkīs of "Kodāloka" which, as I am separately showing may be identified with the present Dhenkanal and Talcher feudatory states. There are reasons to believe that the capital of the Jamagartta mandala was situated on the bank of the river Brahmanī and that this Mandala consisted of portions of the present feudatory states of Bamra, Bonai and Gangpur, etc. Pandit Satya Narayan [Rajaguru identifies Gondrama with the present feudatory states of Dhenkanal, Talcher, Angul, Hindol, Narsīñhpur, etc. I would suggest that the entire hilly tract extending from Bonai, Bamra in the north up to Jeypur in the district of Vizagapatam in the south was in ancient times going by the name Gondrama. It consisted of several mandalas such as Jamagartta, Kodalo, etc. Only the upper hilly part of the district of Ganjam was included in it. A part of it consisting of Ghumsar and its neighbourhood was under the Bhanjas of Khinjali Mandala. The lower flat portion of Ganjam was included in Southern Tosālā and was under the Karas.

Text.

[Seal—श्रीध्र (ध्रु) वानन्ददेव :X:]

1. ओम् स्वस्त्य कलितकली (कलि) कालकलमश (ष) प्रवेशाव-
काशादिजिताशेषोज्जयनीगुणनिकराजय—

2. पुरात्। बभूव नन्दोद्भववंशसम्भवः स्वधिकमाक्रान्तसमस्त-
गोन्दमः ॥ धराधिपोधन्मध—

3. रस्सुधोमान् धोमान् जयानन्द इति प्रबौरः ॥ यस्मिन् राजनि
दि (दौ) नमच्चरयुग (गं) देहीति

4. नैव श्रुतम्। नातङ्गाकु श्रुत (श्रुतं) कुतो नच मृषा इन्द्र
(हृद्) नचासीन्मृणाम् ॥ शर्वर्यामवलासहायविज्ञता—

5. [लङ्कार] भङ्गारिणी ॥ क्षवा पत्य जने यद्रिपु न धार्ता
त्य याल्य
दिलापे नृपे ॥ कनकचू (चि)रकान्तिः प्रोन्नतः पुरी (पूरि)—

6. तन्निः (श्रीः) स्फुरितविमलरत्नः शूरदुर्लभ्यमूर्तिः ॥ बुधजन-
नुतपादो मेखत्तस्य सा म्वा
म्या त् प्रियतम[तन]—

7. योभ च्छ्री
हि पा(प)रानन्दनामा ॥ तस्याविरासात् सि तिशुद्ध
पक्षो वसञ्जनानांखलु मान[से च । हंस (हंसो) य]—

8. था हंससमानकीर्तीना (र्त्तिर्ना)म्ना शिवानन्द इति प्रसिद्धः ॥
तस्याभूत्ततयस्त्वणीकृतरिपुव्रातज्वल—

9. त्यावको वालैणाङ्क इवान्वयाम्बरगतो योभूत् प्रियः प्राणिनाम् ॥
तारुण्ये तरुणोविलो—

10. चनपुटैरार्पितरूपाभूतो देवानन्द इति प्रसिद्धिमगमयः
स्वैगुणैः (गौनि)मलैः ॥

11. दुर्वारारिकरि(री)न्द्रकुम्भदलने स्फूज्ज(जं)त्करःकैसरी शश्व-
न्मानवतीमुखाब्जजय—

12. क्ततोव्रांशुमालो सदा । तस्मादेव बिलासतुङ्ग तृ(नृ)पति
(तेः) भूतस्तता(म)प्रणा(णोः)यस्योच्चै

13. शरदीन्दुधामधवलंनौ(नि)त्य(त्यं)यशो वर्द्धते ॥ नक्षत्रावली
(लि) हारदामकवती नो (नि)त्यत्र

14. भोमन्दिरै ज्योत्स्नाचन्दनलोपनातिधवला सान्द्राधकाराम्बरा
यस्योत्तुङ्गसुधागट

15. हेतिधवले दिग्योषो (षि)तान्दर्पणे स्व(स्व')रूपं वरकामिनि
(नौ)व रज.नो चन्द्रानना पश्यति ।

16. यस्योच्चैः सितमन्दी(दि)राज्जदिशी(शि) प्रोत्तुङ्गहर्म्यावली
शुभ्रा चारुसुधाविकार—

17. रचनै श्चन्द्रा तपरुषर्द्धिनी दु(दु) राधाति दृशःपदङ्गतवती
लोकस्य सञ्चारिणः नौहारोत्क—

18. [रभूधरा] दिवशने (शनै)र्मन्दाकिनी स्यन्दती (ति) । स
श्रीनन्दकुलाम्ब (म्बु) जाकर रविः सहशदीपो नृपस्य

19. [ण्डारातिवधू] मुखाब्जशशत (भृत्)द्राक्रान्तदीर्घज्ञणः
कम्भोहन्ननपेदु पीठ पुलकि (की) कुर्व्वजनश्च टितैः सत्य—

20. [त्याग] कुलाभिमानविनया यस्याङ्गजाःसद्गुणाः ॥
दीप्यप्रतापानलप्लुष्टारातिमु (मृ)—

21. त्तिंश्चतुरम्बोर्दाघपर्यन्तं भ्रान्तसत्कीर्त्तिं (त्तिः) यथोचित-
स्थापितवर्णचतुष्टयः पूरिताशेषप्र—

22. गायी(णयि)जनमनोरथ (थः) सज्जनानन्ददायी रक्ताम्बर-
प्रमण्डितकलधौत^{दो} ल्लिका चामरप्रल—
हो

23. भित्तप्रान्तक्रोडदेशविन्यस्तमयुरचन्द्रिकानिकर-सितच्छत्राव-
भासमानसितधातुमय

24. गोधशिश्वरौकृत लोहितलोचनाम्बरध्वज परमसौगतमाता-
पितृपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारक

25. समधिगतपञ्च महाशब्दमहासामन्ताधि पति श्रीभूवानन्द
देवकुशली ध^१रावट्टमलीये ।
ऐ

26. तारास्तम्भखण्डे भविष्यद्यथाकालाध्यासिनो राजन (न्य)
कान् राजपुत्रान् ब्राह्मणपुरोगा च सामान्तान् ।

27. निवासिजनपदानधिकारिणं सकरणनन्यांश्चाटमट्टवलभ
जातीयान् राजपदोपजी—

28. चिनः सर्वान् यथाई मानयति बोधयति कुशलयत्यादिशत्य-
न्यत् विदितमस्तु भव—

29. तामेताहिषयसम्बन्धशिलो^{हा}खण्डखे(क्षे)नचातुरसिमापर्यन्त
सुपर्वत्योपेतख—

30. स्यवणविनिर्गतजाम्बूवादावास्तव्य प्रसिद्धचतुःसिमाः सजल-
खलसपर्वतारण्य —

31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38.....

39. लिखितमिदं सन्धिविग्रहिक धर्मदेन उत्कीर्णमुद्गाकेन सम्बत्
ले ८^८/१/ भाद्रपदश

40. दि पञ्चमौ ।

Translation.

(Lines 1 to 25.)

Om. Let it be auspicious. From Jayapura, which the evils of the Kali age could not seize an opportunity to have an access to and which surpassed Ujjayini in possession of superior qualities. There was a heroic, virtuous, wise and wealthy king, Jayananda by name. He was born in the dynasty of

Nandodbhava and took possession of the whole of Gondrama by means of his own valour. The two syllables "dehi" (Give) were never heard during his reign and there was no cause for anguish, deceit, or a quarrel for nothing. Even a lady with precious ornaments jingling on her person could walk freely in the night without any companion to look after her * *

* * * * * With the mercy of God Sāmva⁽¹⁾ (Śiva with Parvati), he had a son named Shri Parānanda. The prince was as bright as gold and was flourishing, opulent and possessed of bright and precious jewels. No enemy, however brave, could venture to attempt disrespect to his person and just as at the foot of the mountain, Meru, his contemporary scholars used to make a low obeisance to him. His son was Shivānand. He was as glorious as the Sun. He gained² the heart of the people and always sided with the good, like a swan having white wings पक्ष (wings or side) and living in the Mānasa lake. He had a son, who on account of his superior qualities, went by the name of Devānanda (one, who pleases even gods). Just as the fire reduces a bundle of straw or grass to ashes, so was he in setting a number of his straw-like enemies at naught. Just like the new moon, he shone in the sky of his family and was popular amongst his subjects. *

* * * * * He was a lion in splitting the frontal globe of the elephant-like irresistible enemies. He was like the sun in expanding the lotus-like faces of the high-spirited women, angry through jealous pride. That³ very king, who was fond of amorous pastimes, got a son named Dhruvānanda. He was a leader of the scholars and his fame as white as autumnal moon-light was

¹. It may be read साम्वात् प्रियतर तनयः meaning "dearer than Sāmva" and thus it may safely be inferred that Sāmva was his eldest son. But as all names end in नन्द, this interpretation is not appealing.

². It is impossible to maintain the spirit and beauty of the original language. There are puns on the words पक्ष (wings and side) and मानस (mind or a lake).

³ विलासतुङ्ग is not a proper name because all names end in नन्द ।

ever on the increase. Just like a moon-faced lovely woman, having put on a garland of stars and garment of pitchy darkness, having anointed the sandal of moon-light all over her body and sitting in a room of the sky,—the Night having the face of moon sees her face reflected in the mirror the king's stuccoed white house. Towards the banner of the white-house, there were several palatial buildings, which, on account of their excellent white-wash, defied the moon-light. To the passers-by gazing on those white buildings (under the sky) from a distance it appeared as if the river Mandakinî was gently flowing down from a foggy mountain. He was the sun for the lotus of the Nanda family and simultaneously he was the moon for the lotus-like faces of the wives of his fierce enemies. He was a light to his family and had long and beautiful eyes * * *

Truthfulness, charity, family-pride and politeness were his inborn qualities. He reduced his enemies to ashes with the fire of his glory, which spread far and wide upto four oceans. He placed all the four castes in the positions they deserved and made them discharge their duties properly. He fulfilled all the desires of his friends and was agreeable to the good and fond of red dress.

He shone with the white royal umbrella and at the top of his red banner was placed "godhā" (a leathern fence or alligator) made of white mineral. He had red eyes and red dress. He was a great follower of Buddha and was devoted and worshipful to his parents. He was a master of five great vows⁴ and was the greatest of the tributary princes * * *

Note.

1. *Nanda*.—In line 2 of the inscription Jayānanda is said to be "Nandodbhava Vamśa Sambhava" and in line 18, Dhruvānanda is described as "Śrī Nanda kuṣāmvajākara ravih".

⁴. The five vows are abstention from (1) killing, (2) lying, (3) stealing, (4) sexual intercourse and (5) all possessions.

The latter expression does not signify direct descent from, but most intimate connection with Nanda family, while the former expression indicates descent from a family originated from Nanda. According to the Purāṇas, Kalinga was subjugated by the Imperial Nandas of Magadh. This is borne out indirectly by line 12 of the Hatīgumphā inscription of Khāravela. It may be that these "Nandodbhava-vamsîs" of Jayapura who had the title of Ānanda affixed to their names were connected with the renowned Puranic Nandas of Magadh, most probably from the daughter's side of the latter. It is probable that during the prosecution of the latter, a scion of the family found shelter in the hilly tracts of Kalinga and that in course of time his successors rose to power and established a line of kings and kingdom at Jayapur. But at present there are no materials to proceed further with this theory.

2. *Varṇachatuṣṭayah*.—In line one of the reverse side of the plate, a phrase occurs as "Yatho-chita-sthāpita varṇachatuṣṭayah". Its natural meaning is "One who properly established the four varṇas, viz., the Brahmanas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras". The learned editor has read "Varṇa" as "chaltu" and has translated the whole passage as "having properly consecrated four tanks". In the notes appended to the translation he quotes an authority to prove that "Talla" means "a small tank" but he has not spoken a word whether "chaltu" of the text as read by him is the same as "Talla" of "Sanskrit Wörterbuch". Nor did he explain or cite any authority to show that the word "sthāpita" can safely be used before "small tanks" to mean "consecrated." In any case it seems surprising that a man of king Dhruvānanda's position should have thought it worth-while to take pride if he excavated only four small tanks and bear an august title illustrating that act before his name. Orissa was once the hot-bed of Buddhism. The above passage "yathochita sthāpita varṇa chatuṣṭayah" (as read by me) contains a historical allusion showing how that faith gradually gave way to the original Hinduism.

3. *Godhā*.—The deciphering of the letter “go” in “*Godhā*” is not free from doubt, as the e kār sign before *gā* is not very conspicuous, and *ga* itself looks somewhat like *śa*. Assuming that the reading of *Godhā* stands, let us see what may be its correct meaning. Dr. Banerji Sastri confounds it with “*godhikā*” of *Amarakoṣaḥ* and says that it is a “variety of snake”. *Amarakoṣaḥ* has not classified “*Nihakā godhikā*” among the snakes. The Sanskrit synonyms of the English “*Iguana*” appear to be “*Goudhera, gaudhāra, goudheyā, gaudhikātmajē*” according to “*Amarakoṣaḥ*”. In fact the claim of *Iguana* to snakehood is a very doubtful one. Reliable authorities have classified it among the lizards.

In any case, the learned Doctor’s assertion that the use of the *Godhā*-snake emblem points to the *Nāgavamśa* is not borne out by the fact. The emblem of the “*Nāgavamśa*” is “*Nāga*”, i.e., cobra snake and not *iguana*.

Again his inference that “the present inscription might support the *Mahāmahopādhyāya*, as referring to a *Nāga* and *Chandra-Vamśa* family” is not at all convincing. The learned editor assigns “1078—1142” to *Rāmapāla* and “*Chodagaṅga* founded the *Gaṅga* dynasty in “1078 A.C. according to Sewell or 1075-6 A. C. according to Hultzsch”. A comparison of years of accession of *Rāmapāla* to the throne and of *Chodagaṅga*’s founding the *Gaṅga* dynasty in Orissa which lasted for several centuries, shows at a glance that the verse 3, 45 of *Sandhyākara Nandi*’s “*Rāmapāla-Charita*” is after all a mere product of fanciful imagination of a Court poet. The attempt to prove such a statement as solid history is, to my mind, like running after the will-o-wasp.

But after all, “*godhā*” is not such an uncommon word that its correct meaning cannot be ascertained without the help of the foreign or European authorities. The Indian lexicography *Amarakoṣaḥ* explains it as “*Godhā, talajyāghāta vāraṇē*”. The word has been extensively used in the great Indian Epic the *Mahābhārata* in this sense—vide *Virāta Ch.* 43, 44 *Śānti Ch.* 4, etc. *Apte’s Sanskrit—English dictionary* gives it three

meanings, viz., (1) a leathern fence fastened round the left arm to prevent injury from the bow-string, (2) The alligator and (3) A sinew, chord. It is, however, understood that the compound word "Godhā-śikhari" is a technical royal term used to signify a particular kind of 'Rāja-tīlaka'.

(4) *Parama Sougata*.—The word "sougata" means a Buddhist (a follower of Sugata or Buddha) and the title of "Parama Sougata" implies either a great follower of Buddha or patron of Buddhism. Thus it conveys a historical allusion but our learned editor has now translated the word as "the highly pious" !

(5) *Samadhigata—Pancha—mahāśavda*.—This title occurs in all the Śulki plates published by M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri in J. B. O. R. S. in Vol. II, Part IV and in the charter of Jaya Simha published therein where it occurs somewhat differently as "Prāpta—Pancha—mahāśavda". In all these places the Mahāmahopādhyāya translated it as "The master of the (or who has attained the) five great sounds". It also occurs without any modification in the charters of Vinta Tunga and Udaya Varāha published by the same author in J. B. O. R. S., Vol. VI, Part II, where he has translated it as "holder of five great offices". This title also occurs in the present charter and our learned editor has translated it as "The full possessor of the five great words". He has not given any idea what these great words are, but he has added a foot-note against this title in the text to signify that it stands for "Parama Māheswara, Parama Vaisnava, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśwara and Parama Bhāttāraka". One or other of these five titles occurs specifically in the above charters in addition to the one under reference and for this the learned editor's suggestion is not fully convincing. It is understood that the Viveka Chintāmani, an old *grantha* of the Lingāyata sect of the Deccan defines "Pancha mahā-śavda" as the five musical sounds of Śṛṅga, Tasmaṭa, Sankha, Bheri and Jaya-Ghaṇṭā. I also draw attention to the interpretation of the word by the learned Pandit who has translated the text. Presumably the title under reference bears, like

Parama Sougata some historical allusion but at present the exact connotation of it is shrouded in mystery.

Rājanaka.—The learned editor says that it is “an apabhraṃśa of rajanyaka, and means a feudatory chieftain”. The correct meaning of rājanyakam is “A collection of warriors or kshatriyas”. “Rājakam Rājanyakam cha nṛpati kṣatriyāṇaṃ gaṇe kramāt” says Amarkoṣaḥ.

NOTES OF THE QUARTERS.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on the 27th July 1930.

P R E S E N T :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, Vice-President.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Mr. J. S. Armour.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 6th April, 1930.

2. The Vice-President made sympathetic reference to the tragic death of E. A. Horne, late Honorary Secretary, and moved a resolution of condolence, to be sent to Mrs. Horne.

3. The following new members were elected :—

Bhubaneshwar Singh Sahab, Zemindar, Kamalalaya,
Muzaffarpur.

Pandit Ramakrishna Jha, Advocate, Patna.

4. The Revised Estimate for 1930-31 and the Budget Estimate for 1931-32 having been submitted by the Honorary Treasurer, and passed as amended,

Resolved : that in view of his generous promise to Sir Hugh Macpherson to assist the Society financially in its publication of the Buchanan papers, His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Hathwa be approached by the Vice-President for a further

benefaction of Rs. 2,500 towards the publication of the *Patna-Gaya Report*.

5. The Annual Accounts for 1929-30 and the monthly accounts for April, May and June 1930 were submitted by the Honorary Treasurer and passed.

6. Read and recorded a letter dated the 30th April 1930 from Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, accepting the invitation of the Council to edit Buchanan's *Shahabad Report*.

7. Read a communiqué dated the 7th June 1930 from the Government of Bihar and Orissa.

Resolved : that one copy of each of the publications of the Society be presented to the High Commissioner for India for the new library at India House.

8. Considered representations from the Clerk and the Mithila Pandit that they should be given the benefits of Provident Fund.

Resolved : that a Provident Fund be opened for each.

9. The Honorary Secretary reported that he had sanctioned excess daily allowance to the Mithila Pandit for periods of 21 and 12 days in March and April 1930 respectively.

10. Sanctioned an additional loan of Rs. 25 for preliminary expenses to the Secretary of the 6th All-India Oriental Conference.

11. The following arrears of subscription were written off :—

		Rs.
Mr. C. W. Anderson	(left India)	10
Mr. E. A. Horne	(deceased)	12
Mr. R. D. Banerji	(")	10

J. S. ARMOUR,
Honorary Secretary.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society held in the Society's office on
the 14th September 1930.**

P R E S E N T :

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (in the chair).
Mr. D. N. Sen.
Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.
Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.
Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Claudhuri.
Mr. Sham Bahadur.
Mr. G. E. Fawcus.
Mr. J. S. Armour.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 27th July 1930.

2. The following new members were elected :—

Pandit Srikanta Sarma, Kavyatirtha, Head Pandit, Gaya
Zila School.

Parasnath Sinha, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Bharati Publishers,
Ltd., Chowhatta, Patna.

3. The accounts for the months of July and August 1930 having been submitted by the Honorary Treasurer and passed :

Resolved : that the amount of Rs. 2,600 on fixed deposit with the Allahabad Bank be re-invested for a further period of one year with effect from the 17th September 1930.

4. Considered an application from the Library Peon for an increase of pay.

Resolved : that the application be rejected, but that it may be renewed at a later date through the Library Sub-Committee.

5. Read a letter dated the 4th August 1930 from the Art Press, Calcutta, on the subject of printing charges.

Resolved : that the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, be addressed on the same subject.

6. Read Resolution no. 724-E., dated the 30th January 1930, from the Government Bihar and Orissa (Ministry of Education).

Resolved : that Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri be nominated as the representative of the Society to the Bihar and Orissa Sanskrit Convocation.

Resolved further : that in the event of Dr. Banerji Sastri's having been already nominated by any other Society or electorate, Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri be nominated.

7. Read letter no. 1352-E. R., dated the 23rd August 1930 from the Secretary to Government, Education and Development Department, on the subject of the cataloguing of Oriya Manuscripts.

Resolved : that Government be informed that the Society is preparing a Catalogue which it trusts to publish with the aid of private benefactions and that meantime a special article on the more important discoveries will appear in the *Journal*.

J. S. ARMOUR,
Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society held in the Society's office
on the 19th October 1930.**

P R E S E N T :

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (in the chair).

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Mr. G. E. Fawcett.

Mr. J. S. Armour.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on the 14th September 1930.

2. Elected the following new members :—

Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A. (Oxon.), Professor of English, Patna College.

Mr. S. P. Varma, Barrister-at-Law, Patna.

3. The Honorary Treasurer having submitted the accounts for the month of September, 1930,

Resolved : that out of the available balance two amounts each of Rs. 3,000, be placed on fixed deposit, for periods of three and six months respectively.

4. Read a letter, dated the 25th June 1930, from Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham.

Resolved : that a Horne Memorial Fund be opened to perpetuate the memory of the late E. A. Horne, Esq.

Resolved further : that portraits of prominent patrons and ex-office-bearers of the Society be placed in the Council Chamber and Library.

Resolved further: that the portrait of the late V. H. Jackson, Esq., be secured by arrangement with the Jackson Memorial Fund Committee.

5. Read letter no 8656, dated the 20th September 1930, from the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

Resolved: that a sub-committee, consisting of Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri and the Honorary Secretary, be appointed to examine the question of printing charges and to make recommendations.

6. Elected Mr. J. L. Hill, Honorary General Secretary of the Society in place of Mr. J. S. Armour, transferred to the Greer Bhumi-har Brahman College, Muzaffarpur.

Resolved: that the Council place on record its appreciation of Mr. Armour's services to the Society during his term of office.

7. Sanctioned payment to the Oriya Pandit of the sums of Rs. 15-3-6 and Rs. 65 in September and October 1930 respectively, in excess of the grant.

J. S. ARMOUR,

Honorary General Secretary.

Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on the 18th October 1930.

5. Read letter no. 3656, dated the 20th September 1930, from the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

Resolved : that a sub-committee, consisting of Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri and the Honorary Secretary, be appointed to examine the question of printing charges and to make recommendations.

Sub-Committee's Report.

We have examined carefully the charges for printing the *Journal* as quoted by the Art Press, The Baptist Mission Press and our present publishers.

We recommend that with effect from Part I of Volume XVII the printing of the *Journal* be entrusted to the Baptist Mission Press.

J. S. ARMOUR,

A. BANERJI SASTRI,

Members of the Sub-Committee.

23-10-1930.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on December 7th, 1930.

P R E S E N T :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (in the chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Mr. J. S. Armour.

Rai Saheb M. Ghose.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on October 19th, 1930.

2. Read and approved the Honorary Treasurer's submission of the accounts for the months of October and November, 1930.

3. Sanctioned the pay of the Oriya Pandit up to and including November 17th, 1930.

4. Leave without pay granted to the Oriya Pandit up to the end of December, 1930.

5. Sanctioned the purchase of books from Messrs. Francis Edwards, Ltd., as ordered in letter no. 1044 of November 30th, 1930.

Resolved further that that firm be requested to allow the Society discount on the amount purchased.

6. Read a letter from the Library of States Institute for Testing Building Materials of Mineral Origin, Moscow.

Resolved that no exchange of journals was possible in view of the dissimilarity of interests.

7. Resolved that the ordinary meeting of the Society be held at the end of January at a date to be decided upon in consultation with the lecturer for that meeting.

Resolved further that Dr. Stella Kramrisch be invited to deliver the lecture at the ordinary meeting.

8. Resolved that the Annual meeting of the Society be held during University week at a date approved of by His Excellency the President.

Resolved further that Professor Radha Krishnam be invited to deliver the lecture at the Annual meeting.

9. Read the letter of Government no. 6232-E. of November 15th, 1930 on the subject of cataloguing of Palm-leaf manuscripts.

10. Received the report of the Reception Committee to the 6th All-India Oriental Conference.

11. Read letter no. 2532, dated November 27th, 1930, from the Allahabad Bank.

Resolved that Mr. D. N. Sen act as Treasurer of the Reception Committee to the 6th All-India Oriental Conference, and be empowered to operate on its account with the Allahabad Bank.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary General Secretary.

Actuals for the year 1928-29.

INCOME.

Details.	Actuals		
	Rs.	a.	p.
Subscription	2,820	15	0
Sale of Journal	971	13	0
Miscellaneous (a)	134	5	3
Postage recovered	21	0	0
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila manuscripts	31	12	0
Sale of Buchanan Purnea Report	...	...	...
Government Grant	6,780	0	0
Transferred from Mayurbhanj Fund	4,405	0	0
Total	15,147	13	3
(b) Opening balance	6,872	13	3
Grand Total	22,020	10	6

Actuals for the year 1928-29.

EXPENDITURE.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment	1,198	13	7
Mithila Pandit	1,086	7	8
Oriya Pandit	889	3	11
Telephone	281	4	0
Paper (for Journal Rs. 300-0-0 Huthwa Fund Rs. 628-2-0 }	928	2	0
Printing Charges	4,176	9	0
Postage	421	13	3
Stationery	62	14	6
Library	1,725	12	5
Furniture	30	8	0
Out of Huthwa Fund	...	...	...
„ „ Darbhanga Fund	2,010	13	9
„ „ Mayurbhanj Fund	2,349	3	8
Miscellaneous	1,211	2	6
Total	16,422	12	3
Closing Balance (a)	5,597	14	3
Grand Total	22,020	10	6

D. N. SEN, M.A.,

Honorary Treasurer,

Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

The 4th August 1929.

Actuals for the year 1929-30.**INCOME.**

Details.	Actuals.		
	Rs.	a.	p.
Subscriptions	3,228	12	3
Sale of Journal	744	3	0
Miscellaneous (a)	12,655	10	9
Postage recovered	34	11	0
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila manuscripts ...	13	12	0
Sale of Buchanan Purnea Report ...	10	0	0
Government Grant	6,820	0	0
Opening Balance :—			
Huthwa Fund	1,257	12	3
Darbhanga Fund	534	0	3
Mayurbhanj Fund	3,049	8	4
General Balance	756	9	5
Grand Total ...	29,104	15	3

Actuals for the year 1929-30.**EXPENDITURE.**

	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment	1,251	6	9
Mithila Pandit	1,237	3	6
Oriya Pandit	862	10	3
Telephone	188	12	0
Paper for Journal	342	3	0
Printing Charges	3,313	14	8
Postage	435	1	0
Stationery	61	6	9
Library	1,000	0	0
Electrical Charges	347	5	0
Out of Hathwa Fund	217	9	6
„ „ Darbhanga Fund	25	14	0
„ „ Mayurbhanj Fund	3,591	10	3
Miscellaneous (a)	10,235	5	6
Closing balance (b)	5,994	9	1
Grand Total ...	29,104	15	3

SHAM BAHADUR,*Honorary Treasurer,**Bihar and Orissa Research Society.**The 27th July 1930.*

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Watelin, L. Ch.—Rapport sur les fouilles de Kish.

D'Oldenbourg, S.—Les Études orientales dans l'Union des Républiques Soviétiques.

Rathjens, C.—Exploration au Yémen.

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Neue Folge. Band 9-Hefth. (Band 84) 1930.

Fück, J.—Eine arabische Literaturgeschichte aus dem 10. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (Der Fihrist des Ibnan-Nadim).

Budde, Karl.—Jesaja und Aḥaz.

Budde, Karl.—Habakuk.

Ahrens, Karl.—Christliches im Qoran. Eine Nachlese.

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Śarmā, H.—Some Problems connected with Brāhmanical Asceticism.

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Oscar Löfgren.—Die abessinischen Handschriften der Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen, Stockholm.

Ign. Kratschkovsky.—Die arabische Poetik im IX. Jahrhundert.

N. K. Dmitrijev.—*Th* in the Modern Turkish Languages.

Kasten Rönnow.—Zur Erklärung des Pravargya, des Agnicayana und der Sautramani.

Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.—1930, Heft I.

Fick, R.—Kielhorns Handschriften-Sammlung.

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Fábri, C. L.—A Graeco-Buddhist Sculpture representing the Buddha's Descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods.

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Iyengar, P. T. S.—Saka-Pallavas in Indian History.
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Ghosal, U. N.—On some points relating to the Maurya Administrative System.

Law, N. N.—The Determination of the Relative strength of a State and the Vyasanas.

A. B. Ś.



Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanagari.	Roman.	Devanagari.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r or ṛi	फ	ph
ॠ	ṛ or ṛī	ब	b
ल	l	भ	bh
ळ	l	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ or sh
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	
च	ch	· (Anusvāra)	m̐
छ	chh	' (Anunāsika)	m̐
ज	j	: (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh	× (Jihvāmūlīya)	ḥ
ञ	ñ	) (Upadhmanīya)	ḥ
ट	ṭ	§ (Avagraha)	ˆ
ठ	ṭh	Udātta	—
ड	d	Svarita	ˆ
ढ	ḍh	Anudātta	ˆ
ण	ṇ		